

MAY 14, 1976

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VOLUME 40/NUMBER 19

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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In Brief

GAY CENTER HIT BY ARSON: Eleven days after the Supreme Court upheld state laws prohibiting homosexual acts between consenting adults, Seattle's Gay Community Center was destroyed by fire. This was the second arson attack in two weeks.

David Neth, the center's director, told the *Militant* that there has been a recent increase in threatening phone calls to the center and bomb threats at gay bars. "The court's ruling obviously has encouraged violence by an antigay minority," he said.

During the first fire, on March 28, an employee at the center almost died while trying to put out the flames. In the second blaze, the same employee reports that at 2:00 a.m., April 9, an unidentified man entered the building and assaulted him, shouting antigay epithets. The employee was knocked unconscious and later helped out by the fire department, after most of the building had been engulfed in flames.

Fund-raising events at area gay bars and businesses have helped the center move to a new location.

"The Struggle for Social Justice" will be the title of a May 14 meeting at the Native American Center in Minneapolis. Featured speakers will be Clyde Bellecourt, executive director of the American Indian Movement, and Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate. It begins at 8:00 p.m.

ANTI-ABORTION AMENDMENT FAILS: On April 28 the U.S. Senate rejected an attempt to add an anti-abortion provision to the Constitution. By a close 47-to-40 vote, senators tabled a so-called right-to-life amendment, which would have made all abortions illegal.

Sen. Jesse Helms, the amendment's sponsor, charged that the vote "will be viewed by millions of Americans as a vote against the protection of the life of the unborn." However, most will do nothing of the sort. A recent Harris poll reported that a solid 54 to 39 percent majority support the Supreme Court's 1973 abortion-rights decision.

Another defeat for anti-abortion forces recently came in Wisconsin. Pro-abortion-rights activists demonstrated in January and March against an assembly bill prohibiting the use of government funds for almost all abortions. Hundreds of women's rights supporters packed public hearings on the bill in Madison, extending them so long that the bill failed to reach the senate floor before the legislative session adjourned.

ZIONISTS BOMB CP HEADQUARTERS: A bomb exploded in the early morning hours of May 2 in front of the Communist party's national headquarters in New York City. Fortunately, little damage was done, and there were no injuries. Four other pipe bombs also went off at a Soviet publications bookstore, two banks, and a subway stop near the United Nations. Police report that a note and phone call said that the Jewish Armed Resistance had carried out the bombings.

The JAR is associated with the Jewish Defense League, a pro-Zionist outfit that has taken credit for other terrorist acts and has tried to violently disrupt pro-Palestinian meetings and demonstrations.

The CP's *Daily World* reported that thirty hours after the explosions cops said that they had made no arrests and were not questioning anyone.

The five blasts took place at the dawn of "Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry," which drew tens of thousands to an afternoon rally. Sharing the anti-Soviet speakers platform were liberal Democrats Bella Abzug and Birch Bayh and right-wing Republican-Conservative Sen. James Buckley.

J.B. JOHNSON WON'T GET JURY OF PEERS: As jury selection for J.B. Johnson's second frame-up trial comes to a close, it's clear that once again the Black youth won't be judged by his peers. In 1972 an all-white, older, suburban jury convicted him of being an accomplice to the 1970 shooting of a cop. Now, of the seventy jurors called for questioning, only three were Black—and they were rejected. Two of them were eliminated after expressing opposition to a Missouri law making the accomplice to a murder equally guilty with the murderer. Only fifteen of the seventy questioned were under forty.

IN SEARCH OF 'BROTHERHOOD': Scott Nelson, the Imperial Wizard of the Fiery Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas, has announced that he is quitting the Klan. He complains of losing his job, his wife, and reputation in the community as a result of his Klan activities. "Also," he adds, "there's been a lack of loyalty and a lack of brotherhood and unification among the members in the different Klans." But Nelson has a hunch about where he can find that brotherhood he yearns for: he's thinking of going to Rhodesia. The Rhodesians, he said, "believe along the same lines I do."

SECRET FILES TIP THE SCALES: Have you ever been rejected from jury duty? Is there an FBI file on you? If the answer is yes to both questions, there could be a connection. Federal prosecutors recently admitted that FBI and police files are sometimes checked when juries are being selected for "important and sensitive Government prosecutions," reported the April 19 *New York Times*. Prosecutors secretly check these and Internal Revenue Service files to uncover "possible antigovernment biases" among prospective jurors.

Assistant Attorney General Richard Thornburgh dismissed the idea that this practice can tip the scales against defendants. "We're entitled to as much information as possible to select jurors with some integrity," he said.

UK STUDENTS TAKE ON 'CONFEDERATES': Civil rights songs and chants of "Racism must go, can't take it no more!" rang out as students marched across the University of Kentucky campus last month. The demonstrators, led by the Black Student Union and the Student Coalition Against Racism, were protesting an incident during "Old South Week," sponsored by the Kappa Alpha fraternity at this Lexington campus.

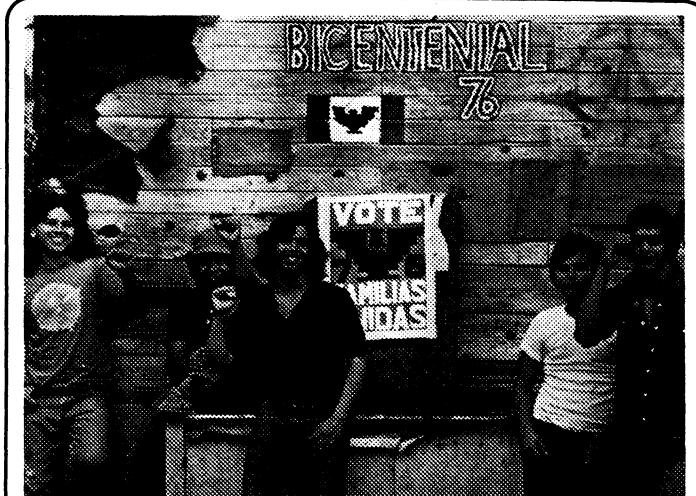
"Old South Week" comes complete with Confederate uniforms and flags. Racist insults were shouted at passers-by from the fraternity house, provoking a fight between frat members and Black students.

The next night, SCAR and the BSU cosponsored a speak-out against racism. A focus for the meeting was defense of the Coleman family, which has been the target of antibusing vigilantes since the family moved into predominantly white Okalona near Louisville. Speakers at the meeting were Edgar Wallace, president of the Kentucky NAACP Conference; Eileen Carver of Louisville's Progress In Education; and Bronson Rozier of SCAR.

TEXANS PROTEST SHAH'S REPRESSION: One hundred fifty people attended a meeting April 22 at the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA) to protest repression against dissidents in Iran. Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni gave an extensive account of police-state methods used by the U.S.-backed regime of the shah.

Other speakers included Prof. R.D. Martin of the American Civil Liberties Union; Gertrude Barnstone, national board member of Women's Equity Action League; Bill Eden, student government president; and Prof. Daniel Georges, UTA Institute of Urban Affairs. The meeting was chaired by Jeanne Ford, director of the Women's Center at UTA, and sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

This week Southwest Bureau head Harry Ring begins a series on Chicano struggles in Texas, based on discussions with leaders and activists there. Raza Unida party . . . farm workers movement . . . bilingual education . . . fight against deportations . . . Keep up with the struggle for Chicano liberation. Subscribe to the *Militant*.

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March on Springfield May 16!

By Ginny Hildebrand

In cities across the country enthusiasm is high for the May 16 national demonstration for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Activists will be traveling to Springfield, Illinois, in trains, buses, and cars from as far away as Houston and Boston.

The National Organization for Women has announced that as people arrive on Sunday they will assemble at Ninth and Capitol. The march to the rally at the capitol steps will step off at noon. Organizers have also said that Karen DeCrow, NOW national president, will share the rally platform with trade-union officials, Black rights leaders, political figures, and others representing the broad support for women's rights.

Since International Women's Day in early March, ERA supporters in dozens of cities have been focusing attention on this national mobilization by organizing teach-ins, rallies, and marches.

On April 28, 400 people attended a

Sadlowski pledges support

[Ed Sadlowski, director of United Steelworkers of America District 31, sent the following telegram to the April 30 ERA rally in Pittsburgh.]

To my sisters in the movement for rights for all people:

I pledge my support and wish you success in dealing effectively with the Equal Rights Amendment so that we may realize that equality for all is a necessity in our democracy.

debate at Georgia State University between STOP ERA head Phyllis Schlafly and Dianne Feeley, the acting chairperson of New York NOW's ERA committee.

The sharp conflict of ideas won new supporters for the ERA in Atlanta, where state legislators have blocked ratification year after year.

Some 150 ERA supporters came to an April 30 rally at the University of Pittsburgh.

Anne Lang, vice-president of Pennsylvania NOW, got an enthusiastic response when she urged the audience to go to Illinois and be prepared to march in other states that haven't ratified the ERA. Eighty-seven people



Militant/Stu Singer

signed a list saying they were interested in going to the May 16 march.

Other speakers at the rally were Oliver Montgomery, president of United Steelworkers Local 3657 and a national board member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Carol Collins of Georgians for the ERA; and Mary McCloskey, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union, who chaired the rally.

Messages of support for the national ERA campaign came from Rep. Bella Abzug; Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates; and Allegheny County Commissioner Robert Pierce.

Labor support has given the national drive for ERA ratification a big boost this spring. Some unions are sending buses to Springfield and contributing funds to the action. Recent endorsements for May 16 have come from the Central Labor Council of St. Louis; Missouri State Council of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; State Council of the California Federation of Teachers; and Wisconsin State AFL-CIO Women's Conference.

A flurry of final May 16 building events are scheduled in several areas, including: an ERA teach-in on May 3 at Cleveland State University; an ERA debate at the University of Minnesota on May 5; a rally at the University of New Orleans on May 6; a May 8 picket line at the state capitol in Lansing, Michigan; and a May 15 rally in Atlanta to send off the buses going to Springfield.

In New York on May 6, NOW is hosting an "Evening for the ERA." The educational event will help raise funds for the Freedom Train.

With tickets still selling, 400 people have reserved seats on the train, which will begin in two sections—from New York and Washington, D.C.—and couple together in Pennsylvania.

The Freedom Train is "reminiscent of the action our fore-sisters took in gaining support for the vote," Alice Cohan, a NOW leader and coordinator of May 16 support on the East Coast,

told the *Militant*.

In 1917, women who had been arrested for picketing in front of the White House rented a train, the "Jailbird Special," and traveled across the country to win support for suffrage.

Today, with four more states needed for final ERA ratification, Cohan said, "Our trip to Illinois is to raise support and tell the nation—and in particular the Illinois senate—that we demand our equal rights. And we intend to keep marching and go wherever we have to go until we get the four more states."

STOP ERA musters 400 for countermobilization

By Suzanne Haig

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—"Pro-ERAers are planning a mass invasion of our state from all over the country," stated a STOP ERA letter urging its members to counter the May 16 march by mobilizing in Springfield on April 27. "We must have at least 1,000 people," it continued, "or we will be outnumbered by the pro-ERA demonstration."

STOP ERA is the leading national anti-ERA organization. Yet only 400 die-hard adherents turned out on April 27.

First they marched around the capitol. One man carried a placard that read, "Give the Enormously Radical Atrocity to libs only." Then they delivered loaves of nut bread to legislators before beginning an in-

door rally.

Phyllis Schlafly, the keynote speaker, punctuated her message with anticommunist invectives.

She ranted against abortion, lesbianism, and school textbooks that present women in nontraditional roles. She linked these to the ERA, which she described as an assault on the family. The United Nations' International Women's Year, she said, was a blueprint for a socialist world dictatorship. And she demanded that the United States keep tight control of the Panama Canal to prevent a communist invasion.

Schlafly didn't mince words in this talk. She was expressing the crude mentality of reactionary forces that fear the swelling movement for women's rights.

Western cities plan solidarity actions

By Ginny Hildebrand

"Ratify the ERA Now!" will echo loudly in several western cities during the May 16 weekend.

Seattle: The Washington State Coalition for Ratification of the Federal ERA is organizing a solidarity march beginning at the Federal Courthouse at noon on May 15. At a 1:00 p.m. rally at the Westlake Mall (Fifteenth and Pine), featured speakers will be Yvonne Wanrow, an American Indian currently fighting frame-up murder charges for defending her child from sexual attack; and Shelly Fernandez, a national board member of the National Organization for Women and a leader in fighting for bilingual education in San Francisco.

Coordinating union support for the demonstration is Evelyn Jaeger, vice-chairperson of the State Labor Council's Women's Committee. NOW, Common Cause, and the League of Women Voters are informing their members

about the action through newsletters and special phone-calling campaigns. And campus ERA groups are holding educational events the day before the march to encourage a mobilization of students.

Los Angeles: The Los Angeles Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment has also scheduled a solidarity action on May 15. Demonstrators will begin to assemble at Pershing Square (Fifth and Olive) at noon and march to McArthur Park (Seventh and Alvarado) for a 2:00 p.m. rally.

A long list of NOW chapters, trade unions, and campus and political groups are supporting the action. Also, Jean Stapleton and Louise Lasser, who plays Mary Hartman on television, have endorsed.

This broad support is reflected among the speakers for the rally. They include: actresses Jane Fonda and Lee Grant; Ruth Miller, president of the Los Angeles Coalition of Labor Union

Women (CLUW); Wally Porter, president of San Diego NAACP; Deputy Mayor Grace Davis; Gloria Gutiérrez, president of Poder Feminino; Victoria Yanez, University of Southern California MECHA; and Ramona Ripston, executive director of Southern California American Civil Liberties Union.

To mobilize union participation CLUW is distributing 3,000 labor leaflets. Chicana ERA supporters have drawn up a special May 15 leaflet to hand out at the Cinco de Mayo celebration.

Outside of Los Angeles, San Diegans for the ERA are organizing a bus and car pools to bring supporters to the demonstration.

San Jose: Roosevelt Park will be the sight of an ERA rally and fair on May 15 organized by the Equal Rights Amendment Coalition of Santa Clara County. Activities will begin at 10:00 a.m. and run until 4:00 p.m.

Supporters of the event include four area NOW chapters; Santa Clara County CLUW; Women's Political Caucus; Women's Action Coalition; Women's Paper; League of Women Voters; Humanist Community of San Jose; Sandi Sherman, SWP candidate for city council; and Rina Rosenberg, head of the County Commission on the Status of Women.

Denver: ERA supporters are planning a rally and teach-in at the University of Colorado beginning at 7:30 p.m. on May 14.

Publicity from the ERA-Action Committee explains that the solidarity rally is also a response to a right-wing campaign aimed at overturning the state ERA. Colorado voters adopted a state amendment in 1972 by a two-to-one margin. But the League of Housewives and Wake-Up Colorado are petitioning to put the issue up for a vote again this fall.

Final report by Senate group

FBI admits 25 years of spying on NAACP

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Prompted by the NAACP's support for Black rights in the navy, the FBI began a spying operation on the civil rights group in 1941 that the government admits continued for twenty-five years.

These details—the first proof that the NAACP had been a target of government harassment—were made public by the Senate Intelligence Committee in its final domestic report April 28.

The report outlined a concerted government campaign to disrupt the Black movement in this country. No group was "moderate" enough to escape the FBI's devious operations over the years; it infiltrated and tried to disrupt groups ranging from the National Urban League and every Black student union in the country to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther party.

"A great number of organizations that you might not today characterize as black nationalist but which were in fact primarily black," the report quotes an FBI official, were included in the bureau's Black Nationalist-Hate Groups Cointelpro operation begun in 1967.

The committee report also summarized operations against numerous other groups, including the Socialist Workers party, the Business Executives Move for Peace, National Organization for Women, and the Communist party. FBI headquarters alone has 500,000 domestic intelligence files, the document reported.

'Lawful political activity'

The committee characterized the operation against the NAACP as "long-term monitoring of the NAACP's wholly lawful political activity."

Details on the quarter-century "investigation" in the Senate report are scant. No actual documents were provided. But the following examples were given:

• "The FBI New York Field Office submitted a 137-page report to FBI headquarters describing the national office of the NAACP, its national convention, its growth and member-



Pre-World War II armed forces segregated Blacks into Jim Crow regiments. Defense of Black rights in navy sparked FBI spying operation against NAACP.

ship, its officers and directors, and its stand against Communism." (1957)

• "An FBI informant in Seattle obtained a list of NAACP branch officers and reported on a meeting where signatures were gathered on a 'petition directed to President Eisenhower' and plans for two members to go to Washington, D.C., for a 'Prayer Pilgrimage.'" (1957)

• "In 1966, the New York Field Office reported the names of all NAACP national officers and board members, and summarized their political associations as far back as the 1940s."

• "As late as 1966, the FBI was obtaining NAACP chapter membership figures by 'pretext telephone call . . . utilizing the pretext of being interested in joining that branch of the NAACP.'"

Spying on the NAACP—as with the disruption programs aimed at other dissenting groups—was carried out with the express approval of public officials at all levels of the government.

"Each administration from Franklin D. Roosevelt's to Richard Nixon's

permitted, and sometimes encouraged, government agencies to handle essentially political intelligence," the committee was forced to admit.

'FBI chose sides'

"The Bureau chose sides in the major social movements of the last fifteen years, and then attacked the other side with the unchecked power at its disposal," explains the Senate document.

The FBI began choosing sides against the NAACP near the end of 1940. Europe was embroiled in World War II, and Franklin Roosevelt was carefully preparing the United States' entry. At this time fifteen mess attendants on the U.S.S. *Philadelphia* signed a letter to a Black newspaper describing the abuse they suffered as Black sailors.

Segregation and discrimination were a fact of life for American Blacks, and at no place was it more evident than in the military. They were either segregated into Jim Crow regiments or—in the case of the marines and the army air corps—totally excluded.

Black sailors and soldiers were

relegated to the most menial and dangerous assignments. They were frequently beaten and sometimes lynched by white servicemen, cops, and civilians.

The fifteen Black sailors wrote to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a Black paper:

"On this ship, out of a crew of 750, there are 18 colored boys, ranging in ages from 18 to 25. They are fresh out of high school and some have a year of college education.

"Their work is limited to waiting on table and making beds for the officers. . . .

"In the last nine months there have been nine mess attendants given solitary confinement on bread and water."

The *Courier* printed the letter. At least one paper, the *Socialist Appeal* (the name used for a time by the *Militant*), reprinted it. Anonymous descriptions of the oppressive status of Blacks in the armed forces had been published before—such as those in the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine. But this was the first time that such testimony was actually signed.

Sailors arrested

The fifteen sailors were arrested. This was met with a public outcry. The NAACP sent off a letter to the secretary of the navy protesting the arrests and demanding that the government intervene to secure their release.

This letter and others were also published by the *Courier*. Supporters organized defense meetings. Other Blacks in the military were encouraged, and they too signed statements corroborating the subhuman conditions imposed on them.

None of this fit into Roosevelt's prewar plans for a subservient military and civilian population. In fact, earlier in 1940, the Senate report reveals, Roosevelt had the FBI open files on citizens who sent telegrams to the White House opposing his "national defense" policy.

The fifteen's commanding officer had wanted them court-martialed, but higher-ups settled for their silence. All were given "undesirable" discharges.

So it was the NAACP's defense of

Continued on page 26

Committee findings on SWP: 'No criminal acts'

"The FBI has admitted that the Socialist Workers Party has committed no criminal acts. Yet the Bureau has investigated the Socialist Workers Party for more than three decades on the basis of its revolutionary rhetoric—which the FBI concedes falls short of incitement to violence—and its claimed international links."

Thus the Senate Intelligence Committee summarized its findings on the government's persecution of the SWP.

The House Intelligence Committee's report—the unauthorized publication of which caused such a sensation in February—concluded that the SWP is a "highly law-abiding group" and a "legitimate American political party."

The Senate report released April 28 continues, "The Bureau is currently using its informants to collect information about SWP members' political views, including those on 'U.S. involvement in Angola,' 'food prices,' 'racial matters,' the 'Vietnam War,' and about any of their efforts to support non-SWP candidates for political office."

The footnote to this section attributes the quotes to testimony taken in closed session on February 6, 1976,

from Robert Shackleford, chief of one of the FBI's internal security divisions.

"It's simply one more confirmation of our charge that the government's spying and Cointelpro-type disruption activities against the socialists continue unabated," Syd Stapleton told the *Militant*. Stapleton is national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the committee organizing the SWP's lawsuit against the government.

"You can bet they're doing more than 'collecting information' on our political views," says the socialists' presidential candidate, Peter Camejo. "If that's all they wanted to know, they could read our campaign literature or the *Militant*.

"The issues they list—food prices, United States intervention in Angola, racist attacks on Blacks—these don't have anything to do with 'national security.' But they are issues that the American people think critical. They're problems that no capitalist politician has a solution for, but we socialists do."

And the part about support for



Militant/Andy Rose

CAMEJO: 'If all the FBI wanted to know was our political views, they could read the *Militant*'

"non-SWP candidates for political office"? "Their motives are crystal clear there," continues Camejo. "The only non-SWP candidates the SWP has ever supported, and will ever support, are those independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, such as Chicano candidates of La Raza Unida party."

"And when you consider the capitalist economic crisis, which is only going to get worse, it's obvious that the SWP's call for an independent labor party is going to sound more and more reasonable to working people in this country."

"That's what the FBI and the Democrats and Republicans it serves are worried about. One thing a labor party could do is to open all the FBI, CIA, and other government spy files. And then it could abolish those parasite agencies."

"That's what a labor party could do instead of trying to legitimize and spruce up this government's war on dissenters as the Senate Intelligence Committee's recommendations propose doing."

—N.C.

Halstead: 'This is a time to stand up & fight'

[Following is the speech given by Fred Halstead at the protest meeting held April 28 at the Society for Ethical Culture in New York. Halstead, who recently obtained more than 500 pages from his FBI dossier, is a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party and was the party's candidate for president in 1968.]

[Among other things, the documents revealed that the FBI was involved in stealing Halstead's briefcase during his presidential campaign.]

I have been reading through this stack, which is my dossier from the FBI. Twenty-nine years it covers. And I want to tell you what I really feel about it. Leonard Boudin said the FBI can't scare people like Jim Peck and me. But in spite of what he said, I do have fears, like everybody else.

This thing chills me, to read over twenty-nine years of your life in a secret police file. It's not complete by any means. There are lots of things left out. And what it does have is generally the most innocuous sort of stuff. And in a sense, even flattering. On this record I was straight arrow, all the way. They left out the more colorful things, because that might point a finger at what they've really been doing.

This is just 533 pages of how they followed me around everyplace I went. And to every job I had. And every apartment I lived at. And they spoke to my employers, and my landlords, and the business agents in my union, and even to people I interviewed when I wrote articles for the *Militant*, and trying to find out if I was legally married. And all that kind of stuff.

I was reading it and I got the creeps. And I said to myself, "Jesus Christ, that makes me feel terrible, to have Big Brother breathing down my neck all the time."

I knew it was happening before this, of course. And I remember when I first discovered it on occasion, long ago. I would get scared, as I expect that any ordinary person would. And my reaction at the time was, well, what can I do? I can't go by the proposition: If you can't beat 'em, join 'em. I'm just not built that way.

I did sometimes go by the proposition: If you can't beat 'em, duck for cover. I did that. I expect that's a human thing, a calculated thing that



Fred Halstead hefts pages from his FBI dossier to illustrate a point at rally against FBI crimes

Militant/Lou Howort

people—even fighters—have to do sometimes. And as I was reading this last night, that old chill came over me. I thought, well, what about that?

Maybe. Maybe I'm not as young as I was. Maybe I ought to just, you know . . . go swimming. Take it easy.

But, [holding up the dossier] that's not the kind of a world I want to leave to my children!

I don't think that we have to stand for 1984. And I think we've got them on the run. And that this is not the time to duck for cover—there's nothing dishonorable about that if you have to—but this is the time to come right out and fight like hell!

There's a new mood. Otherwise we wouldn't even get the little bit of press that we get now on this: It's not just the radicals, not just the socialists that they've got these dossiers on. It's all kinds of ordinary people.

What this dossier is, is a file on somebody whose political ideas they don't agree with. That's it. Absolutely no other reason for it. In twenty-nine years and 533 pages, they don't have one damn misdemeanor.

On a lot of these pages there are blank spots where they censored out things. I suppose that's the interesting part. My life wasn't really all this dull. But it is clear enough they had

absolutely no right, and no justification, for following me around. They just didn't like my political philosophy.

They did have a reason, however. There's a reason why they did this and still do it. It's what I started this talk with. It's the thing that affected me, gave me a chill.

To scare people. They do it to scare people. They do it to establish an atmosphere of intimidation against dissenting ideas.

And that's not the kind of an atmosphere I want to leave to my children! It's not the kind of an atmosphere I want to see after the revolution either! Because it isn't right and it isn't necessary.

Dissenting ideas are not always correct, but if there is ever going to be anything correct in the future it is going to come from today's dissenting ideas. And that right to dissent must be honored, and respected, and defended, and protected.

And this dossier isn't respect for the right to dissenting ideas. It isn't respect for the civil liberties of the American people. It isn't respect for the Bill of Rights. It's not respect for common human decency. The people who stand up against this are the people who fight for individual human freedom.

And this is the time to stand up. This is the time. There are an awful lot of people who are angry at the specter of this monstrosity. Who want the government to leave them alone. Get off their back. Stop interfering in their personal affairs and their political ideas. That's not the proper business of any government, anywhere, under any conditions, whatsoever.

I've got a right to have my political ideas without someone following me around my whole life. And so do you. And so should everyone else in this country and around the world.

But this country is our problem. They started this political gumshoeing with us, the socialists and radicals, and they ended up with a part of the Democratic party in Watergate. And it's still going on. It's still going on. The last entry in my file here is this year.

We've got to go out and stop them. We've got to build a mass movement in defense of civil liberties to stop them. That's our task. And I feel proud to speak in this company because none of us are going to get anywhere with any movement for social progress—or just staving off the Orwellian 1984—if we don't make this fight.

If they can do this to me, they can do it to anybody.

N.Y. rally rips FBI assault on Bill of Rights

By Rich Robohn

NEW YORK—More than 300 people attended a rally on April 28 at the Society for Ethical Culture to protest government attacks on democratic rights. They heard speeches and messages of support from prominent civil libertarians and political figures, many of whom have themselves been victims of spying and harassment by various government agencies.

The meeting was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is sponsoring a \$27 million lawsuit on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against decades of illegal government disruption and spying.

Edward L. Ericson, chairman of the Board of Leaders of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, opened the meeting by declaring, "The Socialist Workers party has a right, and also a duty, to call upon all of us in demanding a halt to this type of harassment."

Actress Madeline Lee Guilford, who refused to cooperate with the witch-hunters of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1953, recounted her own experiences of FBI surveillance. She introduced attorney Leonard Boudin, who had served as

her attorney before HUAC. Boudin has since defended such figures as Dr. Benjamin Spock and Daniel Ellsberg, and is now chief counsel for the PRDF.

Boudin explained the significance of the SWP suit, which may go to trial as early as this July. He noted the pervasiveness of the government's assault on legitimate political activity and said that its campaign against the SWP "probably goes back to the 1930s, during the term of the Roosevelt administration."

"The attack by the Nixon administration," he said, "was only an incident in a long series of cases of harassment."

Frank Donner, general counsel for the United Electrical Workers and director of the American Civil Liberties Union Project on Political Surveillance, detailed the activities of New York City's red squad. Donner cited the "growth of a nationwide chain" of such local political police agencies. He drew particular attention to the role of the New York red squad in collaborating with federal agencies in persecuting Black activists.

Peter Camejo, the SWP's 1976 presidential candidate, pointed to the SWP's role in the labor, civil rights,

antiwar, and other social movements as the reason for the government's campaign against it.

Camejo drew loud applause when he castigated the Democratic and Republican party politicians, who claim to have rescued New York City from financial default.

"How can they say that the city hasn't defaulted? Of course the city's defaulted! It's defaulted to the people of this city. It's defaulted to the tens of thousands of people it threw out of work, it's defaulted to the children of this city for their education."

The SWP presidential candidate called his party's suit "the most important thing that has happened for the Bill of Rights in this bicentennial year."

Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for Congress in Manhattan's Eighteenth Congressional District, also spoke. Garza was twice a candidate of the SWP in New York between 1960 and 1966, when the FBI committed at least ninety-two burglaries of socialist offices.

Leaders of a range of organizations came to the rally to speak out against government political harassment and in support of the SWP and YSA suit.

Among those who spoke were: Jim Peck, veteran civil rights activist and member of the War Resisters League; Nancy Borman, co-publisher of the feminist newspaper *Majority Report*; Pauline Haynes of the International Treaty Council; and Cuca Vargas of the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

Coretta King hails protest

NEW YORK—"The affronts that individuals and organizations have suffered from the FBI must be protested," declared Coretta Scott King in a message of support to the Political Rights Defense Fund rally. "Only as organizations and individuals who have been victimized enlist the support of all the devotees to freedom and liberty to aid them in their protests against this tyranny will there be an end to this flagrant misuse of power."

Coretta Scott King, the widow of Martin Luther King, is the president of the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change.

Mayor seeks early school closing

Judge exempts East Boston from busing

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The toll of the racist offensive against court-ordered busing here is becoming alarmingly clear.

On May 3 Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity announced busing plans for the fall of 1976. Garrity's ruling exempts predominantly white East Boston High School from desegregation for at least a full year.

He also denied a motion by the Black plaintiffs in the desegregation suit to reverse more than 2,000 illegal transfers of white students designed to subvert the court's desegregation order.

On May 5 Garrity began hearings on the possibility of closing down all Boston schools a month early, a decision sought by antibusing Mayor Kevin White. White has carried on a six-month campaign to blame "busing costs" for "bankrupting" the city.

The all-white Boston School Committee has stated that the school department's \$154 million in operating expenses will be depleted by May 16. White claims that no city funds exist to make up for the department's \$20 million deficit.

Garrity has implied that the court does not have the power to order the state to avert an early closing by digging into its own coffers.

Garrity's retreat

The exemption of East Boston High School from the desegregation plan for another year was a serious concession by Garrity to the antibusing movement in the surrounding all-white neighborhood.

Racist leaders there have called on the judge to make the exemption permanent.

In explaining his reasoning for refusing to overturn illegal transfers, which have resulted in the maintenance of segregation in a dozen city schools, Garrity stressed the need for "stability and continuity."

This was the dominant theme throughout the judge's description of his latest order.

Mayor White and Boston School Committee Chairman John McDonough lauded Garrity's "moderation." The city's capitalist opinion makers praised his "maturity" and "sense of balance."

South Boston State Rep. Raymond Flynn termed the decision "a confession of failure, a declaration of defeat that busing is not working in Boston."

School committee member Kathleen Sullivan said, "I'm encouraged because [Judge Garrity] has finally heard the school committee's message, which is that the school system must be stabilized as much as possible."

Nonetheless, some key figures in the antibusing movement were not satisfied with Garrity's retreat. East Boston ROAR leader Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, a member of the Boston School Committee, rejected the latest ruling without reservation. "I am opposed to any and all busing," she said.

Boston Black leaders were also unhappy with Garrity's decision, but for entirely different reasons. NAACP President Thomas Atkins said that his organization may appeal Garrity's student transfer decision.

Atkins also criticized Garrity's decision to make the newly constructed West Roxbury High School, located in a predominantly white area, a neighborhood rather than a magnet school.

No longer 'root and branch'

Under Garrity's new ruling, there will be no decrease in the number of students bused, and most city schools



Militant/Anne Teesdale



Two faces of the antibusing movement: Participants at May 2 'Men's March Against Forced Busing'; Mayor Kevin White sings 'God Bless America' at his April 23 'March Against Violence.'

will remain part of the desegregation process.

But his latest decrees serve to erode both the spirit and letter of his original order to eliminate segregation "root and branch." The door has been opened to the racists, who are hell-bent on getting the "stability and continuity" that all-white schools offer them.

Garrity also ordered modifications allowing stricter admissions standards for the city's three "accelerated" high schools, which select students on the basis of competitive examinations. These modifications represent a setback in breaking down strict "academic" segregation in the city's best schools. Such changes, the Boston *Globe* noted, "seem designed to keep white, middle-class families in the city . . . and will open more seats for whites next September."

Garrity's retreat occurs against the background of an unrelenting antibusing offensive and the racist violence it has engendered.

On April 29, in the wake of three weeks of anti-Black terror, Hyde Park High School erupted into a brawl between hundreds of Black and white students. A bomb threat emptied the school early in the day. As the Black students left the building, they were surrounded by white students. A rock was tossed, and more than 250 students began to fight.

As the fracas was broken up, groups of Black and white students left the school grounds, and a rash of car-stoning incidents broke out. Three Black students were arrested.

The following day, amid a beefed-up police presence, only 100 white students turned up. They refused to go into the building. Black students entered the high school, but later left for the day.

That evening, WCVB television carried interviews with the Black students, who protested racist treatment by white students, teachers, and police. A Black police lieutenant backed the students' claims, while

white students refused to be interviewed.

Bomb threats were reported in schools throughout the city that day.

Lowered city-wide school attendance on May 3 and 4 reflected the ongoing tension in the city.

Charlestown's 'Men's March'

On Sunday, May 2, 1,500 racists rallied at Bunker Hill Monument after a long march through Charlestown, an antibusing stronghold.

The march was led and organized by the paramilitary Charlestown Marshals Association.

A parade of local Democrats addressed the marchers, railing against "forced busing" and court-ordered desegregation. State Sen. William Bulger asserted, "We will never, never quit."

It was also a "unity rally," a theme made clear by Charlestown Marshals leader Dennis McLaughlin. McLaughlin noted the presence of both Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks and "Pixie" Palladino, who lead rival factions of ROAR.

For the first time, members of the maroon-jacketed South Boston Marshals contingent sported buttons bearing the initials "KKK." The blue-jacketed Charlestown Marshals wore buttons reading "NAAWP—White civil rights."

Four or five youths wore blue and white T-shirts brandishing the epithet, "Niggers suck."

This was the crowd brought out for the "Men's March Against Forced Busing."

They were up for fighting—for the in-school violence, the night-riding gang attacks, and broad-daylight assaults that have made every subway, street, and park unsafe for Boston's Black citizens.

White's commission

Meanwhile, Mayor White, buoyed by the momentum of his April 23 "Peace Procession" of 20,000, announced on April 29 the formation of a thirteen-

member panel to "probe the cause of race violence."

Packed with religious leaders and bankers, the panel includes U.S. Sen. Edward Brooke and—to make clear its "neutrality"—also Avi Nelson, the white racists' favorite antibusing radio commentator.

White's aim in forming this commission is transparent: to deflect attention from his own complicity in the two-year campaign of sabotage against court-ordered desegregation. By focusing on "Black and white extremists," he wants to let the antibusing movement off the hook for the anti-Black violence it has fomented and organized.

White doesn't need a commission to tell him what has caused racial polarization here in Boston. Responsibility for the anti-Black terror rests squarely with the refusal of the city, state, and federal governments to employ all necessary force to implement desegregation and turn back the racist mobs that seek to obstruct it.

White is waging his antibusing effort on the legal front as well. His appeal of the city's desegregation plan is now on the Supreme Court docket awaiting a decision on whether it will be heard.

On May 4 the mayor also announced that he is considering signing a bill to set a 10:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. curfew for youth under seventeen. The curfew, backed by City Council President Louise Day Hicks, was passed by the city council May 3.

The attack on Black rights in this city is an attack of national proportions. Only a massive, public response to the racist offensive can begin to make the issues at stake crystal clear.

And clarity on the central issue here in Boston—school desegregation—is the first requirement in mobilizing the power of the majority of Black and white Bostonians and our allies across the nation against the racists and their biggest allies—who reign from Boston City Hall to the White House.

Students set May 29 antiracist meeting

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Leaders of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) from across the country will meet here May 29 to plan the next steps in the struggle for federal enforcement of this city's court-ordered school desegregation plan.

The meeting was announced by NSCAR Coordinator Maceo Dixon at a widely covered April 28 news conference.

NSCAR, with seventy campus and city-wide affiliates from Massachusetts to California, was a key supporter of the scheduled April 24 national probusing march here. Local Black community leaders postponed the demonstration in the wake of escalating anti-Black terror that made it impossible to guarantee the safety of march participants.

Dixon said that the steering committee meeting is open to all supporters of the desegregation struggle. The gathering will map plans for a campaign of



Militant/Jon Hillson

MACEO DIXON: 'We urgently need a visible, organized, massive desegregation movement.'

action and education in defense of busing.

"A concerted national education campaign is urgently needed to make the issues in Boston crystal clear," Dixon said. "We have to explain why busing should be supported, who is responsible for the violence here, and how the government has sabotaged the fight for Black equal rights."

"And we have to show people how to move the desegregation movement forward."

According to Dixon, SCAR activists who have been in the thick of the desegregation fight in Boston will travel this spring to many other cities to present eyewitness reports at forums, meetings, rallies, and debates with opponents of busing.

NSCAR is also coordinating a national telegram campaign to Boston Mayor Kevin White. The telegrams demand that federal troops be sent into the city's white racist strongholds to ensure the safety of Black students

being bused into schools there, as well as Black citizens walking and driving through those neighborhoods.

Dixon said that probusing teach-ins and picket lines will be organized around the country on the May 15-16 weekend, just prior to the May 17 anniversary of the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision that outlawed segregated education.

Other activities in solidarity with the Boston Black community will be held May 28-29 to coincide with the NSCAR steering committee meeting.

"The urgent need for a visible, organized, and massive desegregation movement is driven home to all people of good will by the existence in South Boston and Charlestown of racist lynch squads that seek to terrorize the Black community," Dixon said.

The location of the steering committee meeting will be announced soon. For further information, contact: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

Double standard of justice in Boston courts

BOSTON—There was blood in Joseph Rakes's eye as he aimed his flagpole at the face of Theodore Landmark. Seconds later, the steel spear smashed the Black attorney's nose; scores of onlooking white, high school hooligans let out racist war whoops.

Rakes may not have much to worry about, however. The seventeen-year-old South Boston bigot is out on personal recognizance while awaiting trial for his part in the April 5 mob attack.

Two of his buddies were convicted April 27 of assault and battery with a dangerous weapon. But they both received suspended sentences and probation—a tender slap on the wrist.

Boston Juvenile Court Judge Francis Poitras also recommended that the two youths make a "public apology" to Landmark. Even that hasn't happened. The duo's lawyer, Robert Dinsmore, said a "private apology" had already been issued.

Joseph Rakes took the court's cue. He and accomplice Edward Irvin pleaded not guilty to the felony charges they face.

This portrait of Boston justice—grotesque in itself—is not complete. Despite plentiful news photographs of the Landmark beating—including television footage—the cops could

muster only four arrests.

But the alleged assailants of Richard Poleet, a white man, are finding that the police have sharper vision when

their eyes peer into the Black community.

Poleet was beaten by a gang of Black youths on the night of April 19.



©Stanley Forman/Boston Herald American

Joseph Rakes, flagpole-wielding assailant of Theodore Landmark, is free on personal recognizance. Two other attackers got suspended sentences and probation.

The incident occurred in the wake of a pitched campaign of white racist terror that spanned the city for several weeks. Only a few hours before the beating, Black residents of the surrounding neighborhood reported night riders shooting into housing projects.

Five Black youths have been arrested so far in connection with the attack on Poleet. Three face hearings in Boston Juvenile Court on charges of assault and battery with a dangerous weapon.

Two others, Randolph Lewis and Stanley Young, have been jailed on \$25,000 bail each on charges of assault with intent to murder, armed robbery, and assault with a dangerous weapon. Poleet's wallet was missing when police arrived on the scene.

Lewis and Young, both nineteen years old, have pleaded innocent. But attempts to have their bail lowered have been rejected. They also face grand jury indictments.

Like everywhere else, the statue of Justice here in Boston is supposedly blindfolded. But right now it is winking at Joseph Rakes—and drawing a bead on Randolph Lewis and Stanley Young.

Every white racist tough in Boston gets the message. —J.H.

'What they get away with makes me sick'

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—Carol Bynum is one of those Black people in this city who see themselves as so many tiny flies in a vast spider's web. Surrounded and menaced by the racist antibusing movement, life and limb, as they see it, is a capricious matter.

"It makes me sick, sick, sick the way they carry on like that. The things they do, and the things they are able to get away with," Bynum said the other day. She teaches Afro-American history at English High School, and was commenting to a school visitor on the recent upsurge of antibusing violence that has made city streets unsafe for Blacks.

"It can happen to anyone. This stuff makes me mad, so you know what it must do to a kid," she said, while preparing for a third-period class. Bynum said she tells her students not to get themselves worked up and go out and do something they will later regret. But she worries about what effect her advice has when the students see

antibusing violence condoned.

"Now they're talking about passing a 10:00 p.m. curfew for seventeen-year-olds and a law against rock throwing," she remarked between puffs on a filtered cigarette. "And with a police station right in the middle of the Black community, who do you think they'll be used against?"

Bynum lays the blame for the antibusing violence at the feet of white politicians. If she had a Mayor White doll, she would stick it full of pins.

"If it took them all this time," she said of Kevin White's so-called march against violence, "then they can't be sincere. It's been going on all this time, and now they're getting around to marching."

In the minds of Bynum's students, as in the minds of not a few Blacks here, the violence of the antibusing movement only proves that Boston has become a white against Black town.

"But they're confused," Bynum says of her students. They do not see the

source of the agitation as the government and its elected officials. And in a city like Boston, where Blacks are outnumbered by whites five to one, that often spells trouble.

Even though some of her students live within walking distance of English High, all of them are for busing and realize the Black community would be sunk without it.

"If they had integrated the schools way back when they were supposed to, like they did in the South," one student who comes from Florida said, "there would never have been these problems."

He said the racism of the antibusing movement "is like a disease that whites are catching and it affects their minds."

Last year he had a job in South Boston in the antibusing community, and he ran into racist insults all the time.

A student with a grin that resembled a pair of open pinking shears said he was never able to understand what

makes the racists tick. "They say busing and integration means we'll take away their jobs, right? Well, there's busing now and we still ain't getting hired, so how're we taking away their jobs?"

Sydney Yeldell, an instructor of special education at English High, is one of those Blacks in this city who tends to fancy the problem as one of David against Goliath. The antibusing movement is powerful and well organized, he says, but it is possible to defeat it.

He sees the need for an involvement of the entire community in support of desegregation. He backed the April 24 probusing demonstration that was called off because of threats of racist violence.

Yeldell admits that the actions of the antibusing bigots often leave him shaking his head.

"Look at these kids here," he said of antibusing white students at the school. "They'll never learn any better until their parents grow up."

April 24 protests say: 'Stop the racist attacks'

By Baxter Smith

Supporters of school desegregation organized activities in several cities over the weekend of April 24, the date that had been set for the probusing demonstration in Boston.

In Pasadena, California, some 425 people rallied April 24 at the Civic Auditorium in support of the Pasadena Plan for school desegregation.

The plan grew out of a 1970 court ruling ordering the city's schools to desegregate. Since busing has been in effect to implement the plan, it has been the target of a well-organized racist opposition that includes the majority of the members of the board of education.

Recently the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the arguments of the racist school board members against the plan.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the South-

support. We don't think you should settle for the drippings off the abundant table of the school board," said Adams. "All we want is excellent education for our children. If it takes busing, I'll meet them at the door and say, 'Ride on!'

Charles Carter, assistant general counsel of the NAACP, addressed the meeting. He pledged the full support of the national NAACP "not only with lip service but with money and services of the national official legal staff."

The Dallas regional NAACP director, Richard Dockery, closed the meeting by saying, "The battle is on. The time is now. If we're ever going to be free—we must break the shackles."

More than \$3,000 was collected from the crowd for the appeal. The Concerned Parents, a Black parent group, pledged their support for the legal appeal and announced plans for a



March last May 17 demands implementation of busing plan in Pasadena, California

ern Christian Leadership Conference gave the keynote address.

"We are going to do some things in this city to let the Pasadena school board know that we support the Pasadena Plan. And we will be heard as far away as our nation's capital, where the Supreme Court will know that we support quality integrated education."

Chairing the rally was Sam Sheats, a prominent Black attorney in Pasadena and a former school board member. Other speakers included Ramona Riston, executive director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, and Donald Wheeldin, representing the April 24th Committee, a group that helped organize the rally.

Rally participants received a statement from the Pasadena Student Coalition Against Racism. It asserted that "Boston, Pasadena, and Louisville are testing grounds for equal education and equal rights."

Pasadena SCAR is proposing to continue the campaign in defense of the Pasadena Plan by hosting a teach-in at Pasadena City College in late May.

In Dallas 300 people attended an April 25 NAACP meeting to build support for its appeal of a recent federal court school order.

Rev. John Hurst Adams, bishop of the Texas conference of the African Methodist Episcopal churches, was the featured speaker. He told the meeting that Federal Judge William Taylor had handed down a school resegregation order that leaves the school system segregated and contains instruments for making the schools more segregated than before.

"I'm here to say you do have

thirty-day drive during which they hope to raise \$5,000 for the effort.

In Tacoma, Washington, on April 23 students and faculty of Pacific Lutheran University sponsored a probusing and desegregation forum supporting the effort in Boston.

About 200 people heard remarks from Alex Serienko, superintendent of Tacoma public schools; Rev. Elijah Hankerson, a Black professor at Tacoma Community College; Thomas Dixon, director of the Tacoma Urban League; and Stephanie Coontz of the Socialist Workers party.

The gathering also heard Daniel Levant, chairperson of the Seattle Advisory Committee on Desegregation. Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, addressed the audience by a long-distance telephone hookup from Boston.

Dixon described the wave of racist violence in Boston, and attributed it to the policies of Mayor Kevin White and the city authorities.

Mellissa Wilson, a Black student at Boston's Hyde Park High School, also spoke over the telephone hookup about conditions inside the schools.

In a related development, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2000 in Chicago, Illinois, passed a resolution condemning Boston authorities for failing to make the city safe for Blacks to hold the April 24 probusing demonstration.

Be it resolved, the resolution states, "that AFSCME Local 2000 condemns the government complicity with the racist antibusing movement in the city of Boston which makes it impossible to hold a peaceful, legal demonstration in that city today. . . ."

1,000 march to free S. African prisoners

By Maxine Williams

NEW YORK—Chanting "Down with apartheid, free the SASO Nine," at least 1,000 persons marched in a pouring rain here May 1 to demand the release of nine Black members of the South African Students' Organisation who face a hanging death if convicted on trumped-up conspiracy charges by the racist South African regime.

Demonstrators also demanded the release of the SWAPO Six, members of the South West Africa People's Organisation who are being held under frame-up charges, and the NUSAS Two, members of the National Union of South African Students who are being held unjustly for political organizing.

The march and indoor rally were hosted by the May 1 Anti-Apartheid Day Committee. Some sponsors of the action included the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA), the African National Council of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), American Committee on Africa, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), African Youth Movement, Student Coalition Against Racism, and Friends of Haiti.

The SASO Nine have been in jail since 1974, accused of "fostering feelings of racial hatred toward whites" and of "conspiracy to transform the state by violent means."

It was recently learned that seven more members of the militant, predominantly Black SASO have been arrested, and one was reportedly tortured to death by the apartheid regime.

Speakers at the rally stressed that the demonstration was particularly crucial while Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was in Africa preaching majority rule in Zimbabwe at the same time that the U.S. government is aiding and profiting from the southern African white settler regimes.

A speaker from the Pan African Congress of South Africa said that "in Namibia [South-West Africa] Vorster

is imposing his own apartheid system and the people of Namibia are giving it the rejection it deserves."

She called for the release of the SASO Nine and stated that they are in jail for demanding the return of the land of their birth.

John Akpan, president of PASOA, blasted Kissinger's trip and the phony U.S. commitment to majority rule in Zimbabwe.

Other speakers included Gay McDougall of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Larry Holmes of YAWF, and Yemi Agbeyegbe of PASOA.



Recent protest by Black workers in Johannesburg, South Africa. Moments later it was attacked by police.

Thug tactics of NCLC condemned in Albany

By Timothy Marks

ALBANY, New York—The Albany Young Socialist Alliance has obtained wide support for a statement condemning attacks by the National Caucus of Labor Committees that have taken place in the area over the last several months.

A campaign in defense of democratic rights was initiated by the YSA after Spencer Livingston, a well-known YSA spokesperson, was beaten and cut on April 14 by three thugs who called him "Trotskyite scum."

The attack was the most recent in a series of incidents that began when a member of the NCLC threatened violence against YSA members, telling them to "stay off the streets."

The NCLC, a well-funded, nationally organized fascist group, is widely despised in the Albany area by unionists, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and radical organizations for its history of provocative and racist attacks against them.

Rick Hind, a prominent area activist who exposed the presence of a CIA office in nearby Schenectady, was singled out for attack by the NCLC last summer.

The NCLC distributed leaflets slandering Hind as a "drug pusher" and "CIA agent" and making other even more outrageous personal attacks.

Several months ago the NCLC went

after Doug Bullock, who at the time was a leading member of the Young Workers Liberation League, a youth group affiliated with the Communist party.

The misnamed "Labor Committee" handed out leaflets at Bullock's workplace demanding that he be fired for being a "communist" and a "terrorist" for an "FBI-controlled organization."

The next day FBI agents showed up at his job, and Bullock was fired.

Attacks such as these have resulted in strong support for the statement now being circulated by the YSA. The statement condemns the "slanderous, undemocratic and hooligan actions of the National Caucus of Labor Committees/US Labor Party," and demands "the arrest and prosecution of all those responsible for breaking the law."

Endorsers so far include: Pete Thomas, president of the Schenectady NAACP; Victor Caban, shop steward for District 3 of International Union of Electrical Workers; Stewart Wiggins, shop steward for Local 200 of Service Employees International Union; Fuerza Latina, a Hispanic students' organization at the State University of New York at Albany; and Bill Collins, cochairperson of the Union College Black Student Alliance. Numerous SUNY faculty members have also endorsed.

'Best way to get out the word'

Boston coverage makes 'Militant' sales easy

By Pat Galligan

"Anti-Black violence grips Boston." The half-page headline of the April 30 issue made the *Militant's* stand crystal clear.

"People would walk up and say, 'I want that,'" said Jon Hillson, referring to the April 30 *Militant*.

Hillson, who writes the *Militant's* on-the-scene reports from Boston, is the Socialist Workers party branch organizer.

He considered the response to the *Militant* as one gauge of sentiment: "Despite the attempts to polarize this city, there are many people here—whites as well as Blacks—who have not been taken in by the media or by city hall."

A total of 346 copies of the April 30 *Militant* were sold in the Boston area. Nationally, 5,316 *Militants* were sold in the cities reporting.

Socialists in Philadelphia and Newark ordered extra copies of the April 30 issue, and their sales efforts placed them at the top of this week's scoreboard.

In Philadelphia, 252 *Militants* were sold on Saturday alone. Sales teams blitzed West Philadelphia, Germantown, and the downtown area.

"As soon as we heard that the demonstration was postponed, we decided to make a special sales effort," explained Terry Hardy, West Philadel-

phia SWP organizer.

"We knew that the *Militant* would be the only newspaper to explain what was happening in Boston," she said.

One indication of the response to the *Militant*, Hardy pointed out, is that many people donated their change when they bought a paper. In West Philadelphia, an older Black worker joined in and sold *Militants* to friends passing by.

"We also sent a sales team to Chester that Saturday," continued Hardy. Chester is a predominantly Black, working-class suburb located in the industrial belt south of Philadelphia.

They had to return to the city in less than an hour, though. "All forty-five papers were sold out," Hardy explained.

In all, they sold 318 *Militants* in Philadelphia during the week.

Newark socialists topped their goal of 150 with sales of 215 copies.

According to Tom Bias, who coordinates sales there, they sold virtually all of the 117 *Militants* on Saturday in the city's Central Ward and in downtown Newark.

"In our discussions," commented Bias, "we found a good understanding of the Boston issue among Blacks here."

The response to the *Militant*? "More than half of the people I asked bought a copy," responded Bias.

Sales scoreboard

City	Goal	Sold last week	%	Berkeley, Calif.	175	155	89
Newark	150	215	143	San Antonio	85	75	88
Philadelphia	275	318	116	Dallas	25	21	84
Cleveland	175	190	109	St. Louis	150	123	82
Portland, Ore.	175	189	108	New York City	745	600	81
Pittsburgh	225	236	105	Seattle	250	203	81
San Diego	200	201	101	Chicago	425	342	80
New Orleans	175	175	100	Milwaukee	225	168	75
Baltimore	115	115	100	Houston	325	240	74
Logan, Utah	20	20	100	Detroit	300	220	73
Louisville	20	20	100	Minneapolis	225	160	71
Chico, Calif.	10	10	100	Los Angeles	490	332	68
San Jose	125	119	95	Washington, D.C., Area	125	84	67
Oakland, Calif.	150	135	90	San Francisco	190	103	54
Boston	390	346	89	St. Paul	75	40	53
				Atlanta	300	134	45
				Richmond, Va.	75	27	36
				Total	6,500	5,316	82

During the week, thirty copies were sold at William Paterson College in Wayne, New Jersey. The school's Black Student Union was active in building the April 24 march and had sponsored a bus scheduled to go to Boston.

The Newark SWP has decided to raise its sales goal for the rest of the spring campaign from 150 to 250 copies each week.

"We see this as the best way to get out the word about Boston and win support for the Black community there," Bias concluded.

The *Militant* subscription drive has reached 60 percent of the 5,500 goal—3,285 subscriptions have been sent in. That means subs are coming in slightly behind schedule. We should have 65 percent of our goal at this point in the drive.

Recently, George Purvis, a library worker from Richmond, Virginia, sent us five subscriptions. He sold them all to his co-workers. This is a good example of something all our readers can do to help us reach our goal by May 31.

'Inflation is the main issue'

Rubber workers tell why they went on strike

By Alyson Kennedy and Chris Rayson

AKRON, Ohio—"Inflation is the main issue. Everything is going up, but paychecks are the same. Everyone is working from payday to payday."

That's how George Tompkins, a young Black worker at B.F. Goodrich, sees the national rubber strike.

Tompkins is one of the 60,000 workers who struck the Big Four rubber companies—Goodrich, Firestone, Uniroyal, and Goodyear—on April 21 to back up their demand for a cost-of-living escalator to keep wages abreast of inflation.

"I want everything that's coming to me," said Louie Fanzo, a thirty-year veteran of the rubber plants.

Fanzo said older workers are most concerned about the demand for improved pensions, while younger workers want the cost-of-living clause. He emphasized that all rubber workers are united behind both demands.

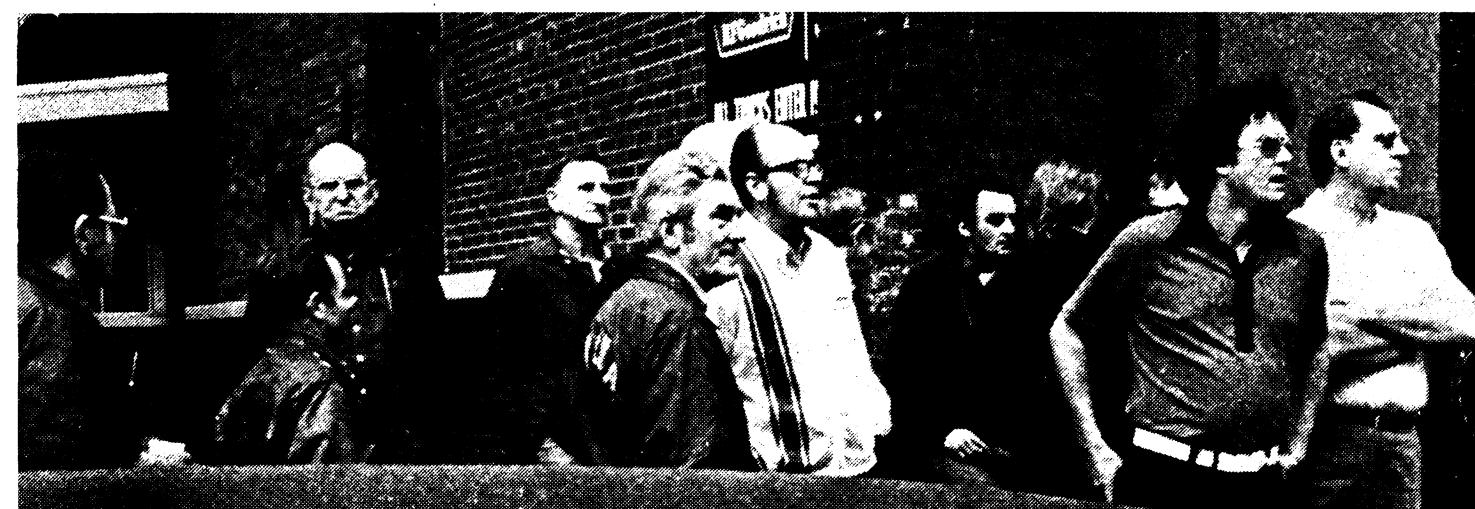
The two men were interviewed by the *Militant* outside an April 25 meeting of United Rubber Workers Local 5, which represents 2,300 workers at the Goodrich plant here.

The strike is centered in Akron, the rubber capital of the world. The Big Four employ one-tenth of the city's work force, about 25,000 workers. More than 10,000 of these are URW members.

At the Local 5 meeting, President Matt Contessa reported that Goodrich rubber workers have suffered a 30 percent loss of purchasing power in the past three years as a result of inflation.

He said that rubber workers need a \$1.55-an-hour wage increase just to catch up with inflation and match workers in other industries, such as auto, that have escalator clauses.

There was general laughter when Contessa reported the company's offer. The company says it will make a cost-of-living payment only in 1977, and



Striking rubber workers

only if inflation is more than 7 percent.

Speaker after speaker emphasized that rubber workers are in for a long, hard strike.

Contessa reported that Goodrich has rejected every major union demand, despite its soaring profits. Profits at Goodrich were up 146 percent in the first quarter of 1976.

To shouts of outrage from the audience, Contessa reported that O.P. Thomas, chairman of the board at Goodrich, was paid \$301,000 in 1975 plus \$200,000 in profits from stocks.

In an interview after the meeting, the secretary of Local 5 noted that the Big Four are coordinating their antiunion strategy. For the first time, he said, all Big Four companies presented exactly the same proposals at the negotiating table before the strike.

In another ominous development, the Big Four have suspended Supplemental Unemployment Benefits to some 1,400 workers who were laid off before the strike.

Akron city officials have also done their part against the strike. A court

injunction limits the number of pickets to four per site.

In addition, Akron police have harassed and threatened strikers. In the week before the Local 5 meeting, several pickets were assaulted by police. One had to be taken to a hospital.

Socialist endorses strike

In a statement distributed at the United Rubber Workers Local 5 meeting, Ohio Socialist Workers party congressional candidate Mike Alewitz declared his solidarity and support for the rubber workers' strike.

Alewitz is running in Akron's Fourteenth Congressional District.

The socialist candidate said that cost-of-living escalators like the one the URW is fighting for should be "a standard feature of all union contracts so that wages automatically rise with each rise in living costs."

Alewitz added: "This and other issues of concern to working people, such as the right to a good job and

As a speaker at the union meeting put it, "We are in for a long, hard fight. The company will try to put people against one another, but we have to stick together. It's not hard to call a strike; it takes guts to stay there and stay in it."

decent working conditions, are not mentioned by Democratic and Republican parties, who represent the interests of the bosses. In fact, they repeat the falsehood that workers' wage raises are responsible for inflation.

"That's why it's important for working people to run their own candidates and campaigns in the elections, based on support from trade unions and community organizations."

Such independent labor campaigns, Alewitz said, could be steps toward building "a labor party that would fight for the workers' interests 365 days a year."

In Our Opinion

Letters

All out May 16!

On May 16, thousands of supporters of women's rights will pour into Springfield, Illinois, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. This important national demonstration deserves the fullest possible participation from women's liberation activists, trade unionists, Blacks, students, and all working people.

The reactionary campaign against the ERA is part of the offensive by the rulers of this country against the economic needs and aspirations of working people, especially the most oppressed layers. Massive layoffs are driving millions onto the unemployment and welfare lines, with women and Blacks bearing the brunt of the attack. Schools, day-care centers, and hospitals are closing down. Women's right to abortion is in jeopardy. And in Boston, gangs of antibusing thugs roam the streets assaulting Black citizens with impunity.

The message of the capitalist rulers to women is clear: lower your expectations, forget about affirmative action, equal pay, child care, and the other rights you have been fighting for.

The May 16 march for equal rights can be a powerful answer to these enemies of women's liberation. Not only will it assert the determination of women to win their emancipation, but it will strike a blow for the rights of all victims of this profit-hungry system.

NYC debacle

Cost-of-living escalators are illegal for New York City employees. That was the edict handed down last week by Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey as he ripped up the new contract of the Transport Workers Union.

The April 1 agreement, which had headed off a strike by the city's 35,000 bus and subway workers, provided no wage increase for the next two years. It did include a modest cost-of-living provision. But Carey and the Emergency Financial Control Board ruled this a violation of the state-imposed wage freeze.

Carey acted with the cocksure arrogance of a capitalist politician certain he has the unions on the run. Asked by reporters whether he feared a strike, the governor laughed. "There always is a danger of a strike," he said. "These are new times, and many unions have come around to the view that they have to cooperate in an emergency situation."

Carey wants transit workers to "cooperate" by financing any cost-of-living pay increase themselves through higher productivity—that is, speedup.

The officials of the powerful Transport Workers Union, while grumbling about the "double cross," have done nothing to mobilize the membership to defend their wages and union rights.

This debacle demonstrates once again how the unions are crippled by their leaders' political subordination to the capitalist Democratic party—unable to mount any effective defense against the antilabor onslaught. A new policy and a new leadership are urgently needed.

\$1.2 billion...

What are the priorities of the Democratic and Republican politicians who run the government? Two dispatches in the May 5 *New York Times* tell the story:

"WASHINGTON, May 4 (UPI)—The Agriculture Department announced today adoption of new regulations designed to eliminate at least five million Americans from the food stamp program. . . ."

"Agriculture officials estimate [the new regulations] will cut \$1.2 billion from the cost of the \$5.8 billion program. . . ."

"WASHINGTON, May 4—The Ford Administration asked Congress today to add \$1.2 billion and five ships to the Navy's shipbuilding budget. . . ."

"With today's proposal . . . the Administration has now added \$1.5 billion to the \$113 billion military appropriations budget it submitted in January."

There are ten million people unemployed in this country. Twenty-four million human beings are officially "poor," even by the government's own standards. After Ford's purge, only fourteen million will receive food stamps.

The priorities of the big-business representatives who run the government are these: take food from the mouths of hungry people, use the money to buy more ships and bombs for the Pentagon.

White's hypocrisy

So Boston's Democratic mayor, Kevin White, finally decided to raise his voice against violence in South Boston now that whites are being hurt.

Where was the righteous anger of White and his marchers (mainly white) when Black schoolchildren were being attacked or when Black attorney Theodore Landmark was brutalized by an antibusing lynch mob?

No doubt he did not want to offend his pro-Wallace constituency by speaking out against violence toward Blacks.

Furthermore, why were the Boston police not able to guarantee protection for the antiracist march that was to take place on April 24? Since no guarantee was made, the march was postponed while Kevin White's march, well protected by Boston's finest, was held.

There is no doubt about it—something is rotten in the "cradle of liberty."

*Donald Winters
Minneapolis, Minnesota*

support of Mr. Joseph's call for an investigation into his son's death.

*The Spark Collective
Joliet, Illinois*

Can't stay silent

As it becomes more dangerous to speak, and more impossible to stay silent, I have become aware of the need once again to be in closer contact with what is going on.

I have been incarcerated now for four years, but I am well aware of the transgressions of our oppressors. More now than ever.

I would like to receive a complimentary subscription to your paper.
*A prisoner
Pennsylvania*

[The *Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

Smells like Birchers

I clipped an article on recent events in Boston from the *Idaho Statesman*. It smells like the John Birch Society.

The article gives all the details about attacks on whites by Blacks in Boston. But it never mentions even once the two-year campaign of violent assaults by whites against Black schoolchildren and other Blacks! The responsibility for the tension-filled atmosphere in Boston clearly lies with the racists.

The *Statesman* seems to favor the John Birchers and Ford. I would like to see someone from the Socialist Workers party come into this town and jar the natives out of the rut. As far as I know, I'm the only one who subscribes to the *Militant*.

*L.S.
Boise, Idaho*

No Marcus Welby

Television shows us many wise and gentle doctors. But when Melvin Armstrong hurt his arm down in Uniontown, Alabama, he found no Ben Casey or Marcus Welby. He found the only doctor in town—Dr. Bobby Merkle.

The doctor sewed up Melvin's arm, then called the young man's mother and demanded immediate payment in full, twenty-five dollars.

Melvin is Black and has eleven brothers and sisters. His father works as a farm laborer.

Mrs. Armstrong could only get together twenty dollars at that moment. She hurried to Dr. Merkle's with the cash.

It was too late. The doctor, in a fit of racist spite or simple greed, had pulled out the stitches and thrown Melvin out of his office.

When taken to court in a \$50,000 suit, Dr. Merkle was found guilty. But the all-white jury only ordered him to pay twenty dollars, the amount a doctor in another town charged to tend the cut.

All the doctor had to say for himself was, "I deeply regret this unfortunate incident." His regret may stem from the fact that the Medical Association of Alabama is considering taking further action against him.

Melvin Armstrong's ordeal was dramatic. Yet it is not so different from what is happening quietly around the country. As one hospital after another is closed down, another stitch is pulled. Medical care is becoming a luxury.

Just as Dr. Merkle had a responsibility to his patient, so this society has the obligation to provide the necessary care. Melvin Armstrong and the rest of us have a basic human right to good medical care.

*Diane Rupp
New York, New York*

Investigate prison 'suicides'

They are killing us in here! One more of our number has been "quietly and mysteriously" removed from this life by the "due process" of Stateville Penitentiary.

But we refuse to allow this. Brother Mark Joseph is the recent victim of this campaign to silence our efforts to combat these illegal offenses employed against us prisoners. Eighteen-year-old Mark was classified as a "severe schizophrenic" and murdered when he didn't conform to the prison officials' view of right behavior.

But Mark's father is told that his son "committed suicide"! His father is calling for an investigation because he did not believe all those official lies.

Mark Joseph was locked up in the infamous detention hospital where another prisoner was mysteriously burned to death in 1973 after participation in a protest of conditions. His death was also reported as "suicide." Two "suicides" by young men in detention hospital should be the straw that broke the camel's back. In each case, murder has been committed on defenseless men. We declare our

Seller's suggestion

A lot of people I sell the *Militant* to ask where the money will come from for the things we demand. We answer from the military budget.

Some people consider this stupid and are really turned off. They ask, Doesn't the country have to be protected?

Since so much of the *Militant* is about money, I think it would be a good idea to have a permanent article explaining the reasoning behind our

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



Why VW is coming

Volkswagen's decision to build an auto assembly plant in the United States made headlines last week, but the underlying reasons for the German firm's multi-million-dollar investment here were rarely spelled out.

In fact, Volkswagen's decision puts the spotlight on one of the most significant developments in the world economy in this decade: the extraordinary successful offensive by the U.S. ruling class against its capitalist rivals abroad and against the working class at home.

A West German government official who sits on the VW supervisory board explains: "We all realize that Volkswagens made in Germany are just too expensive, after repeated dollar devaluations, to meet the American and foreign competition in the United States."

The world trade offensive of U.S. capitalism was signaled by Nixon's 1971 declaration of a "New Economic Policy." Devaluation of the dollar was the key *international* weapon.

Devaluation means that the government lowers the official price of the dollar—in relation to gold and to other nations' currencies. Thus the dollar is worth relatively less; the German mark, French franc, Japanese yen, and so on are worth relatively more. In 1970 you could buy one German mark for twenty-seven cents. As of April 27, 1976, it cost a little more than thirty-nine cents—an increase of 44 percent.

This makes German products sold here more expensive, while it makes American products sold abroad cheaper and therefore more competitive. Devaluation is one big reason why the U.S. capitalists have gained on the world market against their rivals. U.S. exports have more than doubled since 1971.

Meanwhile, the price of German autos sold here has skyrocketed, and VW sales have dropped 50 percent. In 1971 you could buy a new VW beetle for \$1,845. By 1974 it was up to \$2,625. Today, the cheapest model of the new VW Rabbit compact costs \$3,499. All of the Rabbit's main competitors are several hundred dollars cheaper.

Volkswagen expects to save on shipping, raw materials, parts, and other costs by building cars here for the American market. One of the costs they will save on is *wages*. This brings out the second front in the U.S. capitalists' offensive: the rate of wage increases here is drastically lower than in any other major capitalist country.

The actual hourly wages paid in most other capitalist countries are still lower than in the United States. But they used to be only a small fraction of the

U.S. wages. Now for many countries, including West Germany, they are nearly the same. And in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Canada, average hourly labor costs are *higher* than in the United States. How has this shift come about?

A government freeze on wages was the key *domestic* weapon of the New Economic Policy. The wage controls were lifted in 1974, to be followed by a different weapon: massive unemployment, which the capitalists rely on to dampen struggles for higher wages.

This strategy has worked well for the American capitalists. Since 1972, real wages of American workers (that is, purchasing power after taking into account inflation and taxes) have fallen more than 5.5 percent. Real wages today are lower than in 1965. In other countries, greater trade-union militancy has won bigger wage gains.

'CHEAP AMERICAN LABOR'

Increase in hourly labor costs, 1970-75:

United States	43%
Britain	120%
France	130%
West Germany	132%
Italy	133%
Japan	214%

Source: U.S. News & World Report

demand and a reference to a book for more in-depth study.

We don't have time while selling to explain to everyone.

J.R.
Raleigh, North Carolina

Wants Cyprus coverage

I enjoy your paper because of the international news coverage. I was therefore disappointed not to see recent events in Cyprus covered.

Would you do a story for a future edition?

Carol Witon
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Olga Talamante

One small error appeared in the otherwise excellent article on Argentina by Judy White that was reprinted in the April 16 *Militant* from *Intercontinental Press*.

She mentioned that one unexpected positive outcome of the junta's order to expel foreigners critical of their government was the release and expulsion from the country of Olga Talamante, a Chicana from Gilroy, California.

Judy White went on to say that "Talamante was tortured until she signed a confession of involvement in 'subversive' activities." This supposed confession has been reported by the news media, but the accounts are false.

The real facts of the matter, as Olga told me, were that she was forced under torture to sign two statements.

However, she never signed a confession of the crimes for which she was convicted. For the entire year and four months that she was in prison she maintained her innocence.

In fact, after being convicted in September 1975, she appealed the conviction and maintained that she was innocent and had been framed up by the government.

Joe Lombardo
Berkeley, California

For handicapped readers

This is to inform visually and physically handicapped readers that it is possible for them to obtain Marxist literature on cassette or reel-to-reel tapes and on records.

All services, including machines, are available free to those who qualify. I have received about ten books by Trotsky through these services, including *The Age of Permanent Revolution*, *The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects*, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, *Their Morals and Ours*, and *Women and the Family*.

For more information I would suggest that readers contact their state library, or such agencies as Vocational Rehabilitation or the state commission for the blind.

Most of the tapes come from Recordings for the Blind, 215 East Fifty-eighth Street, New York, New York 10022.

Dorothy Taylor
San Antonio, Texas

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Death by hanging?

[The following is a guest column by Sam Manuel, organizer of the Crenshaw District, Los Angeles, branch of the Socialist Workers party.]

LOS ANGELES—A broad spectrum of Black and civil rights leaders, including the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, American Civil Liberties Union, and Operation PUSH, are demanding an investigation into the death of Ted Collins.

Collins, a twenty-one-year-old Los Angeles Black man, died under mysterious circumstances last month while being held in county jail for allegedly assaulting a police officer.

The coroner's report lists the death as suicide by hanging, making Collins the fifth such "suicide" at the jail. Friends and relatives of Collins, however, report that it was highly unlikely for him to want to take his life.

Members of the family were not allowed to attend the autopsy. Collins's sister was not allowed to view his body, and his mother was shown the body of a dead man via closed-circuit television.

Collin's sister explained that prior to his death her mother had gone to visit him. But "she was given the runaround about not having the proper ID. She was told that Ted had attempted suicide by cutting his wrist with a razor blade." He was placed in the infirmary.

"I then attempted to see Ted but was denied permission and was told by doctors that Ted was under restraints," the sister said.

On April 2 the family was told that Collins had killed himself.

The head of the sheriff's homicide unit said that Collins chewed his way through leather restraints, then took a strap, looped it around an overhead speaker, and hanged himself.

Collins's sister, however, said that another cop told her a slightly different story—that Collins had jumped to his death from a bed.

Lloyd Napier, executive secretary of the Los Angeles NAACP, said, "Inconsistencies in the reports on Collins's death and ill-treatment at the hands of the county jail personnel raise some serious questions about the incident."

In view of these circumstances, Napier said, community people are calling for an inquisition into the death.

Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California chapter of the ACLU, agreed with Napier. "There are enough conflicts in the story of Collins's death to warrant an independent study of the facts," she said.

Gloria Bell, who is coordinating the effort to get support for an investigation, told me, "I'm sure the police killed Ted. He was a normal, healthy, twenty-one-year-old Black man. This is the fifth suicide to take place at the central jail. We won't rest until we get to the bottom of this one."

For more information on the effort, write: Gloria Bell, Ted Collins Committee, c/o Westside Neighborhood Adult Participation Project Center, 1909 South Harvard Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90018.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Safe as can be—About 960 tons of radioactive water leaked into the Pacific Ocean from a Tokyo nuclear power plant over a three-month period. Officials said the impact on marine and human life was "negligible." The tank was equipped with a leak-warning device, but it failed to function.

Skinny dip, anyone?—An engineer said "no smoking" signs may have to be posted along the banks of the Tlalnepantla River near Mexico City. The water is so contaminated with human and chemical waste that it's highly flammable. The river is so toxic that inspectors had to take antitetanus shots.



Conrad . . . congratulations . . . congratulations . . . congratulations . . .

All in the family—According to a University of Rhode Island researcher, male efforts to dominate their spouses are responsible for widespread violence between couples. The researcher said a third of all murders stem from domestic quarrels and that 22 percent of police fatalities result from intervening in family battles.

Buycentennial celebration—Smitten with patriotic fever, a Miami dentist is offering red, white, and blue dentures for \$150. For an added fee, he will engrave "1776" on the front choppers.

Titillating—Discussing the hard-sell hokum in religious charity appeals

(one guarantees a wish from God with each donation), Rev. Albert Enos, a fund raiser, explained that "such appeals are called 'titulus coloratus,' to use the Latin phrase. That means you put a little color, a little extra flavor, into what you send out. . . . If you don't, you won't succeed."

A city with heart—Houston doesn't bar children from school because they arrived in this country without proper papers. The Houston school district reports that this semester thirty-six "illegal alien" children tried to enter public school. They weren't turned away, but they were advised they would have to pay tuition.

Women in Revolt

Birth defects & job hazards

Caution: working may be hazardous to your health—and your children's.

Every year, 6 or 7 percent of the babies born have birth defects. Another 10 to 15 percent of pregnancies end in miscarriages or stillbirths.

Birth defects are on the rise, and there is growing evidence that one cause is the increase in the number of women workers exposed to hazardous job conditions. So reports David Burnham in an article that appeared in the March 14 *New York Times*.

The dangers posed to women's reproductive systems at the workplace have received scant attention from the employers or the federal government. In fact, these new revelations occur at a time when the capitalists have united in an effort to sabotage what minimal safety regulations do exist, citing the economic crisis as their excuse.

In the meantime, more and more women are being forced to take jobs in unsafe industries. From 1960 to 1975, for example, the number of working women rose from 33 to 40 percent of the work force, but the number of women working as nurses, hairdressers, garment workers, and factory workers—the most hazardous jobs—nearly doubled.

Some birth defects come from the exposure of men to poisonous materials. One study cited by Burnham found that wives of men working with deadly vinyl chloride had twice as many miscarriages and stillbirths as other women.

The response to these studies from the employers has been predictable. Clean up the workplace? Lower the radioactive levels or remove the poisonous chemicals? Nonsense, they reply. Just bar women from the jobs.

One woman plastics worker in New England, returning from a layoff, was told she could no longer work with vinyl chloride unless she brought in proof from a doctor that she was unable to bear children.

Thirty-seven women in Idaho were transferred from their jobs as lead smelters because of potential danger to fetuses. Some of the new jobs paid less.

These incidents are revealing from the standpoint of so-called protective legislation. Many protective laws—in the guise of aiding women workers—actually deny them equal access to jobs. Examples are the laws restricting the number of hours women

Cindy Jaquith



can work and setting maximum weights they can lift. Laws barring women of childbearing age from certain jobs would have the same effect.

As Odessa Komer, head of the United Auto Workers Women's Commission, said in a Detroit *Free Press* interview, "The answer is not to move a group of people out of a job. The answer is to find a way to clean up the area. . . .

"If they get away with moving these women," she warned, ". . . every woman's job would be in jeopardy."

The employers could care less about the health of the women they are squeezing out of higher-paying jobs. Paramount in the capitalists' minds is the need to make profits, regardless of the damage to their workers. If women can be segregated into the lowest-paying jobs in the process, so much the better.

Clearly, if the job is dangerous, *no worker*, male or female, child bearer or not, should have to perform the work. The lives of working people and their children are far more important than the greed of the capitalist class.

The American Way of Life

How to prevent 'natural' disasters

Take earthquakes. They seem to be one of those things you just have to live with, like taxes.

But they aren't. Earthquakes can be predicted, and precautionary measures can be taken that can save thousands of lives.

In 1970, scientists near a large city with a population of about one million discovered a bulge in the ground. The bulge and the entire area around it were subjected to intense scrutiny for five years and checked for signs of potential earthquake activity.

Thousands of amateur seismologists helped monitor the movement of the earth's crust. Farmers in the outlying areas brought in reports of unusual happenings, for instance, reports of unusual animal activity that has been known to precede earthquakes, and the sudden muddying of wells, with an increase in radioactivity in the water.

After nearly five years of watching, a small quake hit a city forty miles away. The government then moved to strengthen the buildings in the larger city and began to practice "earthquake maneuvers."

Snakes came out of the ground and froze in the winter air. Water spurted from beneath the ground.

On February 1, 1975, small tremors were reported near the city. Two days later there were 500 tremors. On February 4, the order was given to evacuate the city. A quake hit less than six hours later.

About 50 percent of the area's buildings were destroyed or badly damaged. Tens of thousands could have been killed—but the casualties were held to several hundred.

Where did all this happen?

It happened in Haicheng, in the People's Republic of China. It was reported to the American Geophysical Union by Dr. Frank Press, the group's president.

Contrast this to Los Angeles, a bigger city that will have its own quake with a potential for far more death and damage. The impending quake is a scientific fact and could come any day. But there is no evacuation plan. The government is not moving to reinforce buildings. Scientists have not been given adequate resources to predict precisely when the quake will hit.

Even if the quake was predicted, it would be impossible to react the same way the Chinese did.

Would bosses shut down their plants? Who would

pay workers their lost wages? Who would pay the enormous costs? What government agency could organize all this? These were relatively minor problems in China, with its planned economy.

The Chinese were able to see the quake coming because they applied *science* to the problem. But in the United States, science is at the mercy of the profit system. If science can't provide a profit, then to hell with it. And no one is going to profit from saving lives in an earthquake.

The Chinese were able to carry out this enormous undertaking because Chinese society, despite the bureaucratic deformation of political life, is not run on the basis of private profit.

Imagine. With the abolition of capitalism, science became free enough that a poor country like China could minimize the toll of an earthquake, just as it has reduced the toll of other "natural" disasters such as famines and plagues. Imagine what humankind could accomplish if the vast resources of the United States were put to use for our good, rather than for our destruction.

—Arnold Weissberg

'Phasing out' health care for poor

Protests hit closing of N.Y. public hospitals

By Roberta Frick

Horse sense and humanitarianism dictate that we phase out most and probably all municipal hospitals before the end of the century.—New York Commissioner of Health Lowell Bellin, speaking to a group of businessmen, March 5, 1976.

NEW YORK—This city's commissioner of health is so concerned about the inferior care that poor people receive at municipal hospitals that he proposes closing all of them. That way, only those who can afford the much more costly private hospitals will receive any health care at all.

While Commissioner Bellin predicts it may take another twenty-five years to complete the scheme, Mayor Abraham Beame plans to see it happen sooner. He has proposed closing six major hospitals within the next three years. One has already been closed.

There are approximately 125 hospitals in metropolitan New York. But the 18 municipal hospitals provide most of the medical care available to the Black and Puerto Rican communities of Harlem, the Lower East Side, the Bronx, and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC), which runs the municipal hospitals, has already had \$80 million cut from its budget. In January, it agreed to implement Beame's latest cut of another \$159 million.

One of the hospitals under attack is Gouverneur Hospital on the Lower East Side, a predominantly Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Black community.

Lower East Side residents began fighting for medical care at Gouverneur in the 1960s, before it even opened. Protests forced the city to cancel its plans to turn the facility into a nursing home.

Now the 200,000 people of the Lower East Side face losing their only emergency room, intensive-care unit, and rehabilitation, medicine, and pediatric wards.

"It is not only a health-care facility, but a source of employment for the community, and a cultural, multilingual center for the community," says Judy Wessler from the People's Coalition.

tion for Better Health Care.

The Health and Hospitals Corporation has announced its intention to close Gouverneur's emergency room and in-patient services by May 21. The dental clinic and the podiatry clinic were originally scheduled to shut down in October 1975, but a temporary court stay was granted until May 21, 1976.

More than 200 jobs have been eliminated through attrition, and 30 employees—most of them bilingual community residents—have been bumped to make room for employees with more seniority transferred from other hospitals. Fifty-eight more immediate layoffs have been ordered.

There have been ongoing protests by the community. The latest occurred March 26 when 3,000 people marched, demanding "Keep Gouverneur open!"

Sydenham Hospital, a 200-bed acute-care general hospital in Harlem, has also been threatened with closure. Strong community support has succeeded so far in keeping its doors open.

Sydenham handles 96,700 patient visits a year. The area it serves has the worst ratio of patients to private doctors in the city, and it has one of

the highest disease and mortality rates.

Charles Windsor, HHC senior vice-president for operations, says that the hospital is a "seriously deficient plant," which would require \$5 million to \$8 million to meet state health codes. Rather than spend that tiny fraction of the city's budget, Windsor would prefer to see the hospital closed down.

According to Robert Grier, director of community affairs at Sydenham, the nearest voluntary hospital is filled to capacity and the next nearest refuses nonemergency patients unable to pay the minimum fee. The closest municipal hospital, Harlem Hospital, is already full and cannot possibly handle the extra load from Sydenham.

Sydenham is also one of the largest employers in Harlem, and its closure would throw 900 onto the unemployment lines.

The Coalition to Save Sydenham, made up of hospital employees and community groups, marched through Harlem 3,000-strong on March 25 to keep Sydenham's doors open.

Also slated to be shut down is Fordham Hospital in the Bronx. Community residents have conducted a sit-

in there since April 13, and 250 people rallied April 23 to demand "Save Fordham."

Even those facilities not scheduled for immediate closure have been devastated by cutbacks:

- Layoffs at Bellevue Hospital have cut the number of patients it can handle in its intensive-care units by 40 percent.

- Harlem Hospital's home-care program, where health-care professionals visit the elderly and sick in their homes, has been slashed by half.

- At Elmhurst Hospital in Queens, a skilled nursing facility was reduced by forty beds, and the tuberculosis unit and the medical and urology wing were closed.

- X-ray services in the emergency room of the Kings County Hospital in Brooklyn have been eliminated.

- At Coney Island Hospital, three of the seven operating rooms have been closed and all nonemergency surgery canceled.

If allowed to continue, these criminal cutbacks can only mean more deaths and misery for New York City's working people.



Militant/Lou Howorth

Overcrowded city hospitals are only facilities thousands of New Yorkers can afford. Officials want to close all of them within twenty-five years.

L.A. doctors strike, demand better patient care

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—A three-day strike by interns and residents at Los Angeles County hospitals ended April 23. The doctors voted 458 to 173 to end the walkout pending negotiation of a new contract.

The vote was taken after management agreed to make some "significant" concessions.

The doctors are demanding that the county allot \$4 million for a patient-care fund and end a hiring freeze that has seriously reduced the number of nurses and other skilled medical workers in the hospitals.

They are also seeking a pay raise, but have indicated that their main concern is to improve the quality of medical care.

The doctors conducted their strike through the 1,200-member Joint Council of Interns and Residents of Los Angeles County.

The patient-care fund was established last year. Its purpose is to improve the quality of hospital care by hiring more medical workers and purchasing necessary equipment.

To end the strike, county officials upped their offer for the fund. Last

year \$1.1 million was appropriated for the fund. This time the county proposed to slash it to \$100,000. That amount has now reportedly been increased to \$500,000 with indications that there will be more available when negotiations resume.

There was no report on whether the county had retreated on its demand that it take over control of the fund, which is now in the hands of the doctors.

A condition for ending the strike was management agreement not to take reprisals against those who had joined the walkout.

Although county officials tried to minimize the impact of the strike, it was clear after the second day of picketing that hospital operations had been sharply curtailed.

At County-University of Southern California Medical Center, the largest of the three struck hospitals, daily outpatient load was reduced from 1,800 to 600. In one department, ninety striking residents were "replaced" by five staff doctors.

The second day of the strike, I joined three doctors picketing one of the driveway entrances at County-USC.

As we picketed they explained the issues in the strike.

Interns and residents work as many as 120 hours a week. They sometimes work 36 hours straight. One reason for the murderously long hours is that the county saves money by hiring fewer doctors and by not replacing key medical workers who quit.

Many nurses and X-ray technicians, for example, have quit working for the county because of the enormous work load. As a result, doctors are forced to perform duties normally carried out by others.

"We're willing to accept the hours, that's part of the profession," Dr. Ron Dugger said. "What we are striking against here is the other duties we have to assume because the county is cutting back."

"The county is trying to cut the budget down as much as it can even though it's already substandard in terms of nursing, doctor-patient ratio, and beds," said Dr. Tom Kehl.

Hospital understaffing has life-and-death consequences. County-USC has a sixteen-bed intensive coronary care unit, but only twelve beds can be used because there aren't enough trained

nurses available. And it can take up to twelve hours to get a patient into the unit, even after a serious heart attack.

"Put it this way," Kehl said. "The county isn't interested in health care. They just want to do the minimum to get by because they feel that the patients that come here are all on welfare or illegal aliens, and I just don't think they're concerned with the kind of care that's delivered."

The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, which is responsible for the three hospitals and the rotten conditions in them, denounced the strike as "illegal" and threatened to fire the strikers. But one candidate for the board in the upcoming elections supported the strike.

Margaret Mora, Socialist Workers party candidate for the board in the Second District, said that the doctors are "raising demands which are in the interest of their patients and the community. They deserve the broadest community support."

The socialist candidate called for using the \$115 billion a year now spent on the Pentagon to provide free medical care and other social services for everyone.

'We can make our own decisions' Chicanos fight for control in R

By Harry Ring

ROBSTOWN, Tex.—The members of Familias Unidas were confident they could win control in Robstown this year. From everything this reporter was able to observe in the days immediately prior to the election, they had good reason to be confident.

Along with Pedro Vásquez of the San Antonio Socialist Workers party, I arrived in Robstown just prior to the elections.

When we drove down the street where the headquarters of Familias Unidas is located, we had no problem finding it.

Harry Ring, of the Militant Southwest Bureau, recently visited Texas for three weeks to observe political developments in the Chicano movement there and talk with key movement activists and leaders. This is the first of several articles based on his trip.

On the steps of the storefront headquarters there were perhaps a dozen people of various ages. One with a bullhorn was exhorting passing traffic to support Familias Unidas.

In the center of the busy street, campaigners waved down cars and gave them copies of *La Lomita*, the monthly paper that supports the organization.

Other campaigners stood on both sides of the street. They held banners stenciled with the Familias Unidas emblem, the Aztec eagle. Cars continuously pulled up to the curb and the campaigners quickly pasted the vote banners on them.

Everywhere you went in Robstown, except the small Anglo district, you saw cars with the "Vote Familias Unidas" emblem. In addition, numerous homes had signs, either on the building or on the front lawn.

There was almost no visible election material for the mayor's slate, the "Concerned Citizens."

Amid a flurry of activity at the campaign headquarters, Guadalupe Youngblood took out time to discuss the campaign and the development of Familias Unidas.

An early builder of La Raza Unida party, Youngblood grew up in Robstown and was a founder of Familias Unidas.

Robstown is a small town that sits about twenty miles northwest of Corpus Christi, a major gulf port city.

Robstown has a population of 11,200 with perhaps another 5,500 in three unincorporated areas immediately adjacent.

Was election stolen?

ROBSTOWN, Tex.—Vote tallies for the April 3 elections here became available after the accompanying story was written. They show that Familias Unidas, the independent Chicano slate, came close to winning.

There is strong evidence that Familias Unidas actually won the election and was cheated out of its victory by fraud at the polls.

In a town that is overwhelmingly Chicano, an Anglo businessman was elected for a ninth two-year term with a margin of 164 votes.

There were reportedly some 570 absentee ballots cast; 535 of them were credited to the incumbent, Mayor B.D. Berryman.

Familias Unidas charges that many of these absentee ballots were cast by Anglos who have moved

According to Youngblood, the city is 92 percent Chicano. When the unincorporated area is included, the percentage goes up to 96.

I asked how the mayor had managed to hold office for sixteen years with such a tiny white population.

"Money," Youngblood replied.

The town, he explained, is extremely poor. There are very few jobs. A majority of the people who work are migrants, either in agriculture or in irregular oilfield construction jobs. Others work in Corpus Christi.

In Robstown itself, the only real openings are city jobs. Those employed become part of a patronage machine.

The mayor, a Democrat who manages several savings and loan companies, selects token Mexican-Americans to run along with him. In office, they vote as they're told.

Familias Unidas was organized by parents to support students who walked out of the local high school in April 1972. The youth were protesting the racist abuses they were subjected to.

The next year it was decided that if school conditions were to be changed, it was necessary to get some people responsive to the needs of the community on the school board. Familias Unidas entered the contest and elected two members.

Later the group ran candidates for other city posts. It is determined to continue the fight until it breaks the Anglo grip on the community.

Won past elections

Familias Unidas has already elected members to the governing bodies of the city.

With the recent election of Juan Barrera to the school board, it now has three of the seven seats on the board. It has two out of six on the city council, two out of five on the utilities board—which handles gas and electricity—and one of three on the drainage board, whose decisions affect problems of sewage disposal.

Two-year terms on the city council and school board are staggered. Two seats are filled each election year. The drainage board will be up for reelection in May. The mayor is elected every two years.

How did Familias Unidas develop its grass-roots strength?

For one thing it remains active year-round—mobilizing people around community issues and providing various social services.

Familias Unidas holds regular weekly meetings. About forty people attend meetings during the year, with the number doubling and even tripling

outside the city but remain on the election rolls.

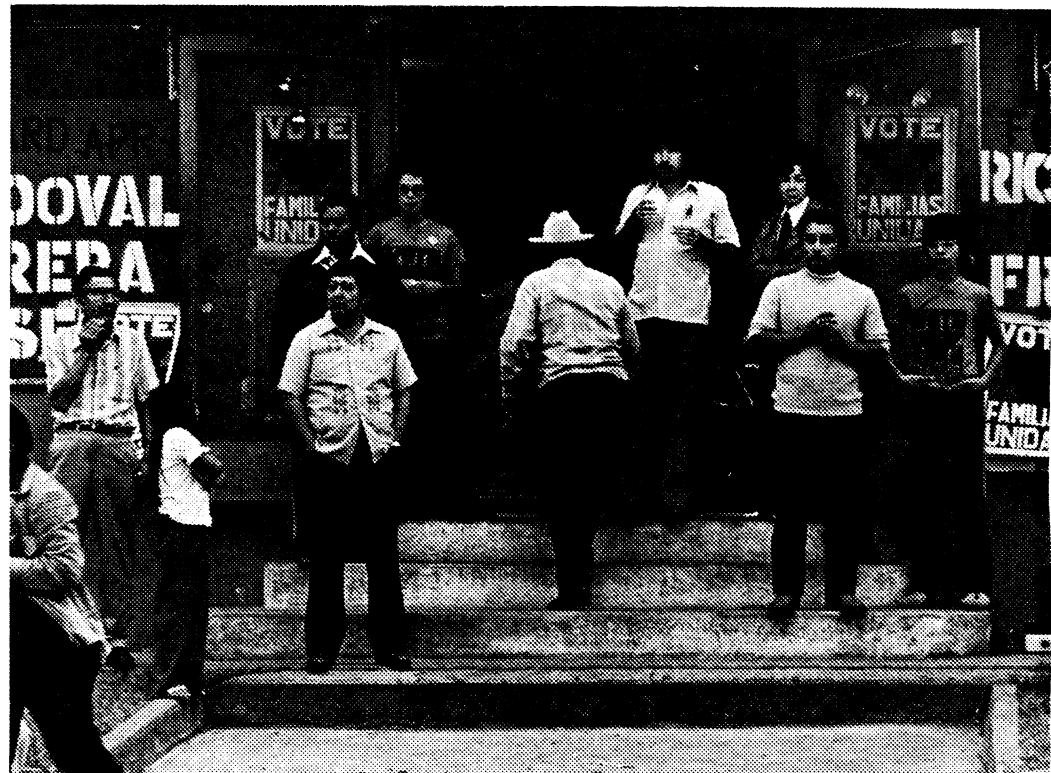
Moreover, Familias Unidas says that at least eighteen people are known to have voted twice—first by absentee ballot, then directly at the polls.

According to unofficial returns, Ricardo Gutiérrez, Familias Unidas candidate for mayor, polled 1,638 votes as against 1,802 credited to the incumbent.

One Familias Unidas candidate, Juan Barrera, was elected to the school board. Others on the slate were defeated by margins ranging from 107 to 405 votes.

According to Familias Unidas leader Guadalupe Youngblood, evidence of fraud is being documented and the election results will be challenged.

—H.R.



Activists rest in front of Familias Unidas headquarters during break from campaigning

during the height of an election campaign.

Familias Unidas is not a part of La Raza party, but as Guadalupe Youngblood put it, "it shares its philosophy."

What is that philosophy? I asked.

"Self-determination," he replied. "The philosophy is controlling our own destiny."

The positive relationship between Familias Unidas and the RUP was apparent to me in October 1974 when I attended a Familias Unidas rally in Robstown for Ramsey Muñiz, then RUP candidate for governor. The rally was well attended, and support for him was clearly strong.

Muñiz has a law office in nearby Corpus Christi and was a leading campaigner for the Familias Unidas ticket in the just-held Robstown election.

Another leading figure in Familias Unidas is Carlos Guerra, a founding leader of the Raza Unida party.

One of the most effective actions conducted by Familias Unidas was a boycott last year. The target was a Mexican-American merchant who is one of the mayor's tokens on the city council and who owns several local groceries.

The boycott was launched after the city council member agreed to vote favorably on several Familias Unidas proposals and then reneged.

The boycott was so effective that in less than a year he was out of business—a solid indication of the strength of the movement.

Act together

The impact of the boycott was highly educational for the people, Youngblood observed. At first they felt it could not be effective. A typical attitude, he said, was, "I'm no big customer. Maybe I go in once a week for a six-pack. What can I do?"

The boycott proved that all the six-pack customers acting together could do a lot.

"People got a big boost out of that," Youngblood said, "because they could see their power. Like, 'Wow, me—a poor man, I don't even have a job, I have trouble feeding my family—me, with those other guys exactly like me, we put this fat cat out of business!'"

Developing that kind of self-confidence is essential, Youngblood added, for confronting the key issue in Robstown.

What is the key issue?

"Gringo control. It was a matter of getting people over the fear of actually directing their own lives."

Having Familias Unidas members in office has helped politicize the community.

Before, Youngblood explained, people found out what the council was doing after the fact. "Like tax increases—it's not something they're going to publicize. They'd just have a meeting of the city council, vote, and we'd find out when the tax bill came.

"Now we know beforehand what's happening. Sometimes it's things that will affect a great number of people. So we'd let the people know, 'These people are going to raise taxes. If you want to fight it come to the meeting and have your say.'

"We got a lot more participation in government functions, and people could see firsthand who is voting for what.

"It's an education in itself," Youngblood continued. "Especially for people who at first didn't agree with us—either because of misunderstanding or because of the abuse in the local media which says the Raza Unida and Familias Unidas is 'communist.' Anyway, these people would go to the meeting because their taxes were being raised. They would see then how people voted—who defended who. They would go away with a different viewpoint."

Conditions in town provide Familias Unidas with more than enough issues to organize around.

The school situation is really bad. Administrators—Anglo—are paid well. Teachers are paid the state base wage, with the city adding nothing. A majority of the teachers are Anglo. Since wages are so low, they tend to be rejects from other schools. Many are racist.

There is an acute shortage of textbooks. Aside from generous pay for administrators, the school board doles out money with an eyedropper.

Health care is virtually nonexistent. There is one hospital in town owned by a group of Anglo doctors. You can't get admitted, Youngblood said, unless you have a paid-up insurance policy in your hand.

When people get really sick they have to be taken by ambulance to the county hospital in Corpus Christi, some twenty miles away. People have died before they got there.

The biggest issue in Robstown today is one that is affecting masses of people throughout Texas—an incredible gas rip-off by the Lo-Vaca Gathering Company, a major gas supplier in the state.

Lo-Vaca has been given state per-

Robstown, Texas



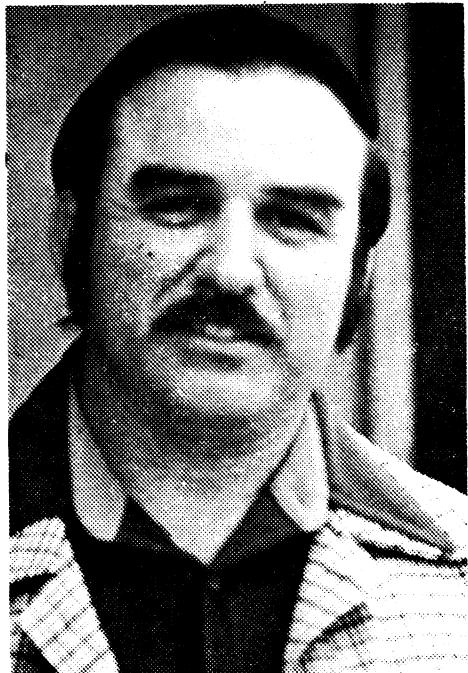
Militant/Harry Ring

mission to automatically pass on to consumers all increases in the cost of gas it buys. Lo-Vaca buys its gas from a parent company and, since the state ruling, prices have increased every month. People have been hit with increases as high as 800 percent.

In Robstown, Youngblood said, the situation has become impossible. People are paying more for gas than for food.

Familias Unidas demanded that the city file suit against Lo-Vaca on grounds it had broken its contract price agreement. The majority rejected the proposal.

Then, it became known that the mayor's son is an attorney for Lo-Vaca.



Ricardo Gutiérrez, Familias Unidas candidate for mayor.

Discussion with Familias Unidas activists invariably come back to the key problem—Anglo control.

School board member Juan Barrera recalled the hurricane that hit the area five years ago. The first thing that was done afterward, he said, was to restore electricity in the Anglo neighborhood. And of course the first one to get his electricity back on was the mayor.

"After they got done with the Anglos," Barrera said, "they came to our community. Some people waited a month before their service was put back."

Many of the streets in Robstown are unpaved. "The Anglos have pavement in their alleys," Barrera commented, "and Chicanos have many streets with

no pavements.

"We want everybody to be treated equally," he said. "And being that the Mexican-American has been ignored, that's where the top priority should be."

Ricardo Gutiérrez was the Familias Unidas candidate for mayor.

Gutiérrez grew up in the barrios of Corpus Christi. He moved to Robstown eight years ago and took a teaching job at the high school. He teaches Mexican-American studies and is a sports coach.

Gutiérrez became active in Familias Unidas two years ago. His brother Armando has been a prominent member of the Raza Unida party for a number of years. A professor at the University of Texas in Austin, Armando Gutiérrez ran for the state legislature on the Raza Unida ticket in 1974.

Ricardo Gutiérrez became involved in the movement independently of his brother, although he was obviously pleased that Armando came to Robstown to join in the last several days of campaigning.

Ricardo Gutiérrez feels that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have anything to offer Chicanos. He is a member of the RUP as well as Familias Unidas.

The importance of what Familias Unidas is doing in Robstown, he said, "is that we're helping to show people that we can do the job. We're as intelligent as anyone else. We can be city councilmen, mayors. We don't need anyone telling us what to do. We can make our own decisions."

"I feel that if we win here," he said, "we can prove that Chicanos can do it. Then other communities that have large Chicano populations will say, 'If they can do it, we can too.'

"I think that's a lesson for Chicanos, for Blacks, for poor whites, for Indians."

The afternoon of the election we talked with a group of teen-agers who were taking a break from a backyard basketball game.

Several were pupils of Gutiérrez and seemed to like and admire him. All of them were supporters of Familias Unidas.

Why?

"We're a majority," one explained, "but we don't have much to say about what's going on."

"The others haven't done anything," he added, "only raise our taxes. Familias Unidas would lower our taxes, give us more freedom of speech."

Is freedom of speech a problem in the school? I asked.

He shrugged and grinned. "It's a problem anywhere in Texas if you're a Chicano."

Election night we joined a huge crowd at the Familias Unidas headquarters to wait for the election returns.

The hall was packed and overflowed onto the front steps and into the street. Each time the phone rang everyone would get quiet, waiting expectantly.

Finally, as the returns came in, it was clear they had not won.

Some people drifted away. The big majority stayed on.

An impromptu rally began. Nearly 500 were present. The candidates and other leaders of Familias Unidas spoke from the steps of the headquarters.

The speeches were uniformly positive and militant. The vigorous responses of the crowd made clear that despite their disappointment and anger they were not demoralized.

We too were disappointed by the outcome. But we were impressed and encouraged by the reaction of the people. The struggle in Robstown did not end on election day.

Holds state convention

NM Raza Unida names U.S. Senate candidate

By Arturo Ramírez

ALAMOGORDO, N.M.—More than sixty Chicano activists meeting here April 24 at the state convention of the New Mexico Raza Unida party voted to launch a vigorous challenge to the Democratic and Republican domination in the politics of this state.

The convention decided to nominate a candidate for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Democrat Joseph Montoya. Ernesto Borunda will run against Montoya, who is the highest-ranking Mexican-American Democrat ever challenged by La Raza Unida parties in any part of the country.

The convention also fielded candidates for the two New Mexico posts in the U.S. House of Representatives. Jesús Aragón will run in the First Congressional District and Ernesto Hill in the second. Campaigns for various county posts were also planned.

The independent Chicano party plans to be on the New Mexico ballot for the first time. As a result of a suit filed by Raza Unida, the requirements for petitioning were slashed from about 30,000 signatures to 3,000.

Reflecting the seriousness of the New Mexico RUP's opposition to the Democrats and Republicans, the convention voted to back Peter Camejo for president of the United States if Raza Unida does not have its own candidate. Camejo is the candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

A resolution approved by the convention noted that Camejo is the first Latino to ever run for president of the United States and that "his ideology is similar to that of the Raza Unida Party of New Mexico."

The party's platform is embodied in "the Declaration of Human Rights of the Partido de la Raza Unida de Nuevo Mexico."

It calls for the right to a job at adequate wages; free education through college; free medical and health care; abolition of private ownership of the land with those who work the land having control over it; and for the right of people to live and work where they want regardless of economic or political boundaries.

A major focus of the convention was discussion about the struggle against cutbacks. The gathering adopted a statement putting the party on record "against any policy that causes cutbacks" in social services.

The New Mexico party has been

subjected to vicious attacks from authorities throughout the state.

One example is the case of Anselmo Gonzales, RUP chairperson in Union County.

According to the party, Gonzales was an innocent bystander during an incident at a bar in the town of Clayton. Cops were trying to quell a disturbance when one of the officers recognized Gonzales and assaulted him, bashing him over the head repeatedly with a flashlight.

When questioned by the press, Clayton Police Chief J.R. Hendrix claimed this version of what happened is not true.

"He [Gonzales] is known to be a troublemaker," Hendrix said. "He's one of those boys who has a chip on his shoulder against police."

Another illustration is the frame-up of Rio Arriba County *partido* chairperson Antonio DeVargas. Police invaded his house one day with a warrant alleging that an unnamed "informant" said he knew DeVargas had pot and subversive literature which [DeVargas] was using to disrupt and overthrow the government."

The cops said they found drugs.
Continued on page 26



La Voz del Pueblo
Juan José Peña, state president. 'Our party defends poor people, not the rich as Democrats and Republicans do'

RUP takes Texas town

By Harry Ring

A Raza Unida party administration was elected in Cotulla, Texas, April 3. Located in La Salle County in South Texas, Cotulla has a population of about 5,000. Chicanos are a big majority.

Cotulla is not far from Crystal City, where La Raza Unida has been the major party for the past several years. The Cotulla Raza Unida forces elected a mayor and two members to the city council.

Raza Unida already had two members on the council, so it now has all five votes on that body—those of the four council members plus the mayor.

The new mayor is Leodoro Martínez, a Raza Unida activist. The RUP slate won with about 53 percent of the vote.

The *partido* has been a strong force in Cotulla for several years. In 1974 it also elected a mayor, but the losers, machine Democrats, challenged the elections in court. A cooperative judge disqualified the newly elected mayor on a trumped-up "nonresidency" point.

Opponents of the RUP have until May 4 to challenge the present results, but so far have not indicated they intend to do so.

As in Crystal City, most of the people in Cotulla are very poor, and have long suffered Democratic city administrations indifferent to their needs.

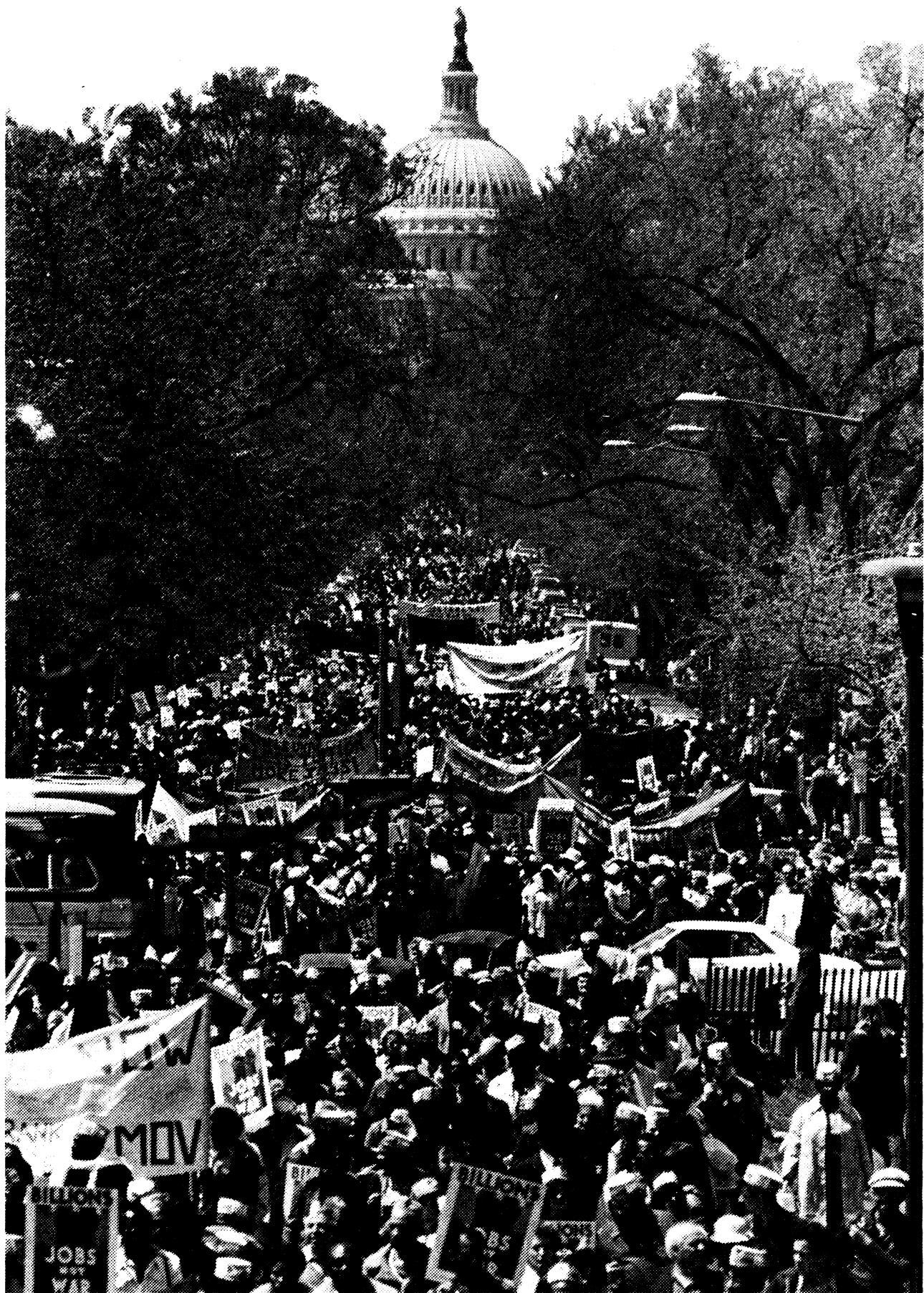
Reaction to the election was described in a telephone interview by José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City RUP who was elected county judge in 1974.

"The mood there is very electric. Everybody is very happy and satisfied. They're really gung-ho."

"This gives them the chance to make some changes in their community," he said, "and certainly it gives them the control to exercise government as they see fit."

The Cotulla victory, he said, will help encourage party activists elsewhere, particularly those who had become convinced that for some reason "it could only be done in Crystal City."

Prospects for Socialism in America



Sixty thousand marched for jobs on April 26, 1975—the first national demonstration ever called by AFL-CIO

By Jack Barnes
and Mary-Alice Waters

[Printed below are major excerpts from the introduction to Prospects for Socialism in America. This new book, now available from Pathfinder Press, explains what the Socialist Workers party is and what it stands for. Included are the resolutions and reports adopted by the SWP national convention in 1975.

[Jack Barnes is national secretary of the Socialist Workers party; Mary-Alice Waters is editor of the *Militant*.]

The political structure and life of the United States, as described by the schools, the press, and the elected politicians, has several prominent traits that are treated as virtually unchangeable. The political "mainstream" is composed of the Republican and Democratic two-party system. For good or ill, competent or incompetent, honest or corrupt, the best hope for representative government is said to reside somewhere in the political spectrum that exists inside the two dominant parties—the Republicans supposedly representing "big business" and "small farmers"; the Democrats, "small business" and "big labor."

Outside of the mainstream there is only the fringe, advocating simplistic, utopian, or even dangerous panaceas that will never seriously influence the majority of the American people.

This political cliché endures because of a single undeniable fact: the century-long monopoly of political power by the Republican and Democratic parties.

Though the real lines of cleavage in American society are not revealed in elections, they run sharp and deep. The divisions between worker and employer; poor and rich; Blacks, Chicanos, other minorities and the racists; women and their detractors, cut across the superficial distinction between Democrat and Republican. These oppositions are a surer gauge of where American capitalism is headed, and what options are realistic and which unrealistic.

On this more profound level of relations between the classes, races, nationalities, and sexes, the "mainstream" bipartisan policies of the ruling elite can more and more clearly be seen to represent not a consensus of the majority of the governed, but the privileged interests of a rich and powerful—but tiny—capitalist minority.

At the polls the Republicans and Democrats continue to divide up most of the votes from a disgusted and declining percentage of the electorate. But these are mainly votes of habit, not of confidence and conviction. They are cast under the impact of press and broadcast media monopolized by defenders of the status quo that deny equal coverage to or even basic information about the socialist alternative.

Crisis of confidence

A Harris poll released in March 1976 showed that 63 percent of those questioned felt that "most people with power try to take advantage of people such as myself." This is almost double the 33 percent who agreed with this statement in 1971. Some 77 percent felt that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer," when only 45 percent thought this was true in a 1966 poll. And 61 percent believed that "the people running the country don't really care what happens to me." This is well over twice the 26 percent who felt this way ten years ago.

The March 25, 1976, *Los Angeles Times* offered this gloomy—for them—comment on the findings:

"Up to now, the main source of disaffection has been the existing leadership of major public and private institutions rather than the system under which Americans live. How high this level of disenchantment can go before faith in the system crumbles is a question that should be of the deepest concern to those at the power centers of this society."

This deepening crisis of confidence among growing numbers of working people in the justice or even competence of the present social order is an essentially new feature of twentieth-century American politics.

A no less important development is the drive by the capitalist class and its political parties and institutions to shift the burdens of an economy in decline more and more onto the shoulders of the workers—with the unorganized, the poor, the Black,

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the female, the unemployed, and the old getting hit the hardest.

This drive went into high gear with the government's publicly announced goal of "zapping labor" during the Nixon-Congress wage freeze of 1971. It accelerated during the 1974-75 depression. Its aim is to force down real wages and cut back social services in order to improve the profitability and competitiveness of U.S. corporations in a period of worldwide capitalist stagnation, recession, and sharpening rivalries. Its first effects have begun to provoke angry responses from those most affected—more bitter strikes, demonstrations, and protests—and this is only the harbinger of things to come.

New period of capitalist decline

We are entering a period fundamentally different from the conservative and stable 1950s and early 1960s, which reflected the long post-World War II economic boom that has now come to an end. Unable to count on the expanding markets and steady growth of the past, the corporate rich are stepping up an offensive against the labor movement and the oppressed national minorities to redivide the national income for their own benefit.

But they are compelled to wage this offensive under conditions of growing distrust in their representatives and deepening disbelief in the good will or impartiality of their government. This is strikingly illustrated in small incidents that have become almost commonplace today but would have been unthinkable a decade ago.

In March 1976, William Colby, who had just been relieved as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, began a national speaking tour in defense of the CIA. At Cornell University and at Southern Illinois University, he was compelled to debate Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

There was more than a little irony in the confrontation. The former head of the powerful CIA had to debate as an equal the representative of a revolutionary socialist party that the CIA had spied on and tried for decades to destroy!

Colby, speaking for what he called "the mainstream," was greatly upset about the flood of

"The capitalist class is driving to shift the burden of an economy in decline onto the workers—with the unorganized, the Black, the female, and the unemployed getting hit the hardest."

information about the secret machinations of his agency falling into the hands of the people in whose interests the CIA claims to act. The government has proceeded throughout its history as though it had the unquestioned right to shroud in secrecy all of its "intelligence" and policy-making actions.

"We're in the process," Colby said at Cornell on March 8, "of working out a new definition of what has to be kept secret and what has to be made public in this free society of ours." And he was jeered by the audience. Stapleton was applauded when he replied:

"It's becoming clearer and clearer that the American government is not a protector of democracy, but an enemy of democracy; not a defender of the rights listed in the U.S. Constitution, but an opponent of those rights; not a force against violence, terrorism, and assassination, but a source of violence on an international scale."

Rejection of status quo

Such radical rejection of the status quo is not limited to the campuses or centered there. In the course of the depression of 1974-75, with its rampant inflation and unemployment, mammoth cutbacks and layoffs, shortages and breakdowns, a qualitative turning point was reached in the consciousness of masses of people.

Discontent today is focused on the desegregation battles in Boston and Detroit, among the city workers being stripped of their jobs and pensions in New York and a score of other cities, among working mothers in San Francisco and elsewhere fighting for child-care centers, among the Chicano farm workers of California, and in the steel and auto plants of the Midwest.

This book has its origins in discussions in the leadership and among the members of the Socialist Workers Party over 1975. Once the character of the

ruling class offensive was analyzed and the evidence assembled to gauge the scope of discontent, these discussions sought to grapple with this central problem: How could the situation be turned around so that the working class and its allies could effectively fight back?

Around what demands and what organizational forms could the burgeoning potential for mass action be realized?

Through what steps could working people be mobilized, overcome the divisions in their ranks, and compel the government and the employers to retreat? How can the defensive actions undertaken today go over to the offensive tomorrow?

And ultimately, how can the oppressed achieve the only long-term guarantee of their political and

"It is necessary to think socially—to look beyond one's own job prospects or union—to defend the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women outside the unions as well as inside."

economic rights—the creation of a workers' government in the United States—before its present capitalist regime leads us further in a descent toward human degradation, ecological destruction, or nuclear conflagration?

The results of these discussions are a series of proposals that the authors and the Socialist Workers Party wish to advance for consideration and further discussion by all those who have a stake in the fight for political democracy, economic rights, and socialism.

'Think socially & act politically'

Several basic themes run throughout this book. One of the most important was first suggested by the exiled Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky in discussions on the American situation with leaders of the SWP in 1938. He said that the American working class would never be able to shake off its conservatism and contend with the capitalist rulers for power until it had learned to "think socially and act politically."

American capitalism has skillfully fostered divisions within the working class and between workers and their natural allies along national, racial, and sex lines. These cannot be overcome so long as the principal organizations of the working class, the trade unions, view their role as limited strictly to the issues of job conditions and wages of the members of their unions.

It is necessary to think socially.

This means seeing that no individual solutions, advancements, or escapes are possible for the great majority of working people. Only by thinking socially, by looking beyond the level of one's own job prospects or the issues facing a single union, by supporting and defending the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women outside the unions as well as inside, can a bond of mutual respect and trust be forged that can bring together all the oppressed and exploited in the fight against capitalist misrule.

This goes beyond trade union consciousness and is the essence of real class consciousness. That is not only being *against* domination by the employing rich, but being *for* and identifying with the interests of the oppressed and exploited in their totality.

At the same time working people can never win lasting gains so long as they abstain from politics in their own name. It is in the political arena that laws are passed and enforced, that the selection of administrators takes place, that classes build and test their organized strength.

Today the United States remains the only highly industrialized country in the world so politically backward that the great majority of the workers have no mass political party that even pretends to represent them. They vote for the hand-picked agents of the rich and the superrich who control the Republican and Democratic parties. To act politically means to construct a mass workers' party in opposition to the existing capitalist two-party system. It is foolish to strike against the bosses in the factories and offices one day, and demonstrate against their animosity and antiwoman actions the next, and then turn around and vote their political representatives into office.

Beyond this central theme—think socially and act politically—there are others that try to define the context determining the aims and possibilities of

the contending forces. First, the economic crisis of American capitalism, which underlies its anti-working-class offensive, is rooted in a deteriorating international situation for world capitalism. Its sources can be found in the exhaustion of the motor forces of the long postwar boom, and in the revival of German and Japanese market rivalry with the U.S., the accumulated inflationary pressures of the gigantic war budget which have eroded the position of the dollar as the world trading currency, and the rise of the colonial revolution which has soured prospects for investment and stable imperialist profits in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The world crisis, beginning with the oil shocks of late 1973, has in turn devastated the economies of the semicolonial countries. Billions of people, from India to Chile, from Zaire to South Korea, face the most terrible prospects in their history.

In answer to this challenge, Washington has nothing to offer but the threat of military force and the advice to keep the "communists" out of government. But the problems of the world's people are not military problems. They are social and economic: poverty, exploitation, lack of industry, lack of jobs, lack of control over their lives. All Washington has to offer is the installation and support of right-wing military dictatorships, from Argentina and Brazil to the Philippines and Iran.

Revolutionary ferment in Europe

A second feature of the world crisis of capitalism is the way it is hammering the imperialist metropoles as well as the semicolonial countries. The specter of socialist revolution haunts Portugal and Spain and is in the offing for Italy, France, and Britain.

In part, this rise of revolutionary ferment in Europe has been caused by the United States itself through its trade and tariff pressures and competitive devaluations of the dollar from 1971 onwards. In seeking to export the crisis, American capitalism has helped to deeply shake the stability of its capitalist allies. Washington has no effective foreign policy that can shore up the fortunes of capitalism as a world system. It only lashes out to crush opposition, to make somebody else pay.

The third aspect of the crisis of American capitalism is the spread of unrest and radicalization to the United States. This is shattering a long-standing ideological prop of this country's rulers: the claim that class conflict is a feature of the Old World, while the New World, at least the upper portion of the Northern hemisphere, has escaped such problems through its egalitarian and democratic origins and institutions. The great lesson of today is that the United States is not immune to the class struggle.

Its ruling class is driving ahead to diminish the expectations of working people, to push back women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans from the few gains they have made, to restrict democratic rights accepted by long tradition, to gain acceptance for long-term unemployment at drastically higher levels than in the past, to bring into question the right of unions to protect the workers who belong to them, to ravage the environment, and to sharply curtail or eliminate a whole range of even minimal social services such as health care, child care, welfare, decent public transport, training programs, expenditures on public education, and assured retirement, that had come to be looked on

"To act politically means to construct a mass workers' party in opposition to the existing capitalist two-party system."

as rights of citizenship. And it tries to put over all this as "necessary belt tightening" while maintaining as untouchable the \$100-billion-plus war budget!

Attempts to divide working class

One of the most insidious sides of the ruling class offensive is the use of the capitalist monopoly over hiring and firing and the allocation of city, state, and federal funds to foster racism and sexism in an effort to deepen divisions among working people and their allies. Employed workers are incited against "welfare cheats," the privately employed against "boondoggling" municipal workers, taxpayers against the recipients of social services, the unemployed and nationally oppressed against better-paid skilled workers.

On the political level, while there is still no mass labor party or Black or Chicano party that can

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

directly take on the Republicans and Democrats, the ruling class faces the deepest loss of public confidence in modern history. The Harris poll cited earlier found that 68 percent of those questioned feel that "the people in Washington, D.C., are out of touch with the rest of the country." This sharply limits the options of the dominant parties. No candidate of the ruling parties today inspires confidence or enthusiasm or even belief.

Growing numbers of Americans are convinced that the government lies to them, that it keeps its doings secret because it is a corrupt agency of the corporate rich. A major issue in the fight to mobilize opposition to the system is now, and will be more in the future, the right to *know*. Working people want to know how much money there really is in the corporate treasuries and in the city, state, and federal budgets.

They want to know what plans are being made behind their backs for new aggressions that can lead to further Vietnams.

They want to know what the multitudes of bloated police agencies, from the FBI to the CIA, are doing with their secret snooping into the private lives of American citizens and their efforts to disrupt and destroy political opponents. They will not accept Colby's "new definition of what has to be kept secret."

A strategy for fighting back

The Socialist Workers Party has sought to survey these interrelated elements of the unfolding crisis and project a strategy that can protect and enlarge the gains made by workers, the oppressed national minorities, and women during the 1960s, a strategy that can keep the unions from being taken on one at a time by the employers and broken up. This means approaching the layoffs, cutbacks, inflation, the antibusing mobs in Boston, as part of a single problem that requires a united response by the people who create the wealth of this country.

One of the central aims of such a strategy must be to transform as many of the unions as possible into a revitalized, popular labor movement that sees struggle against, not collaboration with, the boss as its guideline, and that sees the movements of other sectors of the oppressed and exploited as allies. This calls for unconditional support to the rights of the most oppressed. That is what the hundreds of

political candidates of the SWP have been saying, and it is the fear of widespread acceptance of this program that motivates the persistent and massive efforts by the FBI and other government agencies to harass, bug, and burglarize the SWP.

The party has challenged this illegal use of police power head-on by filing a \$27 million damage suit against the federal government. The suit, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, has led to the disclosure of thousands of pages of previously secret FBI documents that show a decades-long campaign of wiretaps, efforts to have SWP members fired from their jobs or evicted from their apartments, and the fabrication of false charges to try to split the civil rights and antiwar movements, in which the SWP has played an active part.

Two views of history

The FBI and the policy makers who stand behind it in the White House, on Capitol Hill, and in the corporate boardrooms imagined that they could get away with their police-state tactics because they see

"The layoffs, cutbacks, inflation, the antibusing mobs in Boston, are all part of a single problem that requires a united response by working people."

history through the eyes of the ruling class. For them the working people are a despised and manipulated substratum of society, beneath the level of consciousness. The vocal and organized representatives of the working class are seen—or more accurately, they are portrayed—as "outside agitators" and dangerous fanatics; to silence them any means is justified. This includes the outright assassination of any representative of the oppressed who wins a mass following, such as Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

Up to now our history has largely been written as seen through the eyes of the rich and white. People are more and more beginning to look at where we have come from through the eyes of working people, of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, of women. This tells a very different story. Many of the heroes of today's schoolbooks will be tomorrow's villains, just as the U.S. cavalry in the Westerns looks different after Vietnam and after the rise of the

American Indian Movement.

The government's justification for its conspiracy of violence and lies against unions, Blacks, and socialists is that their demands are making the country ungovernable. Why should this be?

Capitalism cannot grant the most elementary rights and needs of the great majority of the working population. All it can do is try to shut them up and push them down.

The country is ungovernable under capitalism—except, in the long run, as a police state. This is the most compelling proof that the rulers of today have no right to govern; their interests are unreconcilable with those of the mass of the American people.

* * *

The Socialist Workers Party is totally unlike the Democrats and Republicans. Its members are mainly working people, and it is controlled by its members, not by outside monied interests. Its highest body is the convention of rank-and-file delegates held every two years or less—not caucuses of lawyers, ad men, and financiers. The convention elects the party leadership, but even more important, it first arrives at definite policies through democratic discussion which are then adopted by majority vote of the delegates and which the leadership is bound to carry out.

The SWP's approach to its own growth is far different from that of the capitalist parties. The Republicans and Democrats who solicit the votes of the people on election day would like them to shut up and keep quiet the other 364 days of the year. The SWP, on the contrary, places the highest value on the daily involvement of every individual in its ranks and believes that the contribution of each member to the fight makes a difference.

Part of the fight for a socialist society and part of the guarantee that it will genuinely place power in the hands of working people is to involve all members of the workers' and socialist movement in making the decisions they are carrying out, in drawing on their creativity, and learning from one another.

If, when you finish the book, you find you agree with the goals it outlines and are convinced that the methods suggested to achieve them are realistic, then you should join with the rest of us to help bring them about. The Socialist Workers Party is your party.

Our party is your party too!

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World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MAY 14, 1976

Vorster's 'red carpet' visit

Apartheid axis meets in Israel

By David Frankel

There are few governments in the world willing to invite South African Prime Minister John Vorster for an official visit. On April 9 the regime of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin achieved the distinction of being one of those few.

Even the American government, the central pillar of world imperialism, has hesitated to identify itself too closely with the hated apartheid regime in South Africa. But Tel Aviv did not allow such misgivings to stand in the way of closer relations with its sister regime in southern Africa.

"The red carpet was rolled out for the guests and both Premier Rabin and Foreign Minister Yigal Allon came to greet them," the April 9 *Jerusalem Post* reported.

The South African flag flew from the King David Hotel during Vorster's four-day visit, which was hailed as "unforgettable" by the grateful Vorster.

Asked about persistent reports that he was shopping for arms in Israel, Vorster replied, "Utter nonsense." He then proceeded—escorted by the commander of the Israeli navy—to examine a guided missile patrol boat built in Haifa.

According to a report in the American magazine *Flight International*, Israel and South Africa have already concluded an arms agreement under which the South Africans will build several Reshef naval patrol boats in their Durban shipyards.

Vorster also inspected an Israeli aircraft plant in Lydda. Reporters with his party were barred from that outing.

Despite Israeli denials, Eric Marsden

said in the April 11 London *Sunday Times*, "there are reports from Johannesburg that South Africa wants to buy the Israeli-made Kfir (lion cub) delta-wing warplane and other military equipment from Israel."

In addition, Marsden suggested that "South Africa may also hope to benefit from Israel's hard-won experience of guerrilla war. . . . The Israelis are the world's experts at sealing hostile borders, flushing out guerrillas and mounting retaliatory raids."

"Mr Vorster's itinerary includes the Golan Heights and the Lebanese border, where he will be able to see the electronic security fence and defensive network against border raids."

Other details on possible military deals between Israel and South Africa have emerged. The April 17 issue of the British *Economist* said "there are reports that South Africa is interested in a tank designed especially for desert conditions and in an anti-tank helicopter that Israel is said to be developing."

In an April 17 dispatch from Jerusalem, *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith said that "there were persistent reports that South Africa was prepared to finance an expansion of Israel's arms-producing capacity. . . ."

Smith also cited "speculation" that Pretoria "had agreed to provide Israel with supplies of uranium as part of the exchange agreement."

What is definite is that the visit resulted in what Smith called "a sweeping new economic-cooperation pact." He reported that "the agreement is expected to result in an immediate expansion of two-way trade, utilization of South African raw materials and

skilled Israeli manpower in joint projects, and the stepping up of already cordial scientific relations."

The pact was a boost for Vorster and his apartheid system in face of the growing pressure from the African masses in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia for majority rule. It was greeted by the white colonialists as a sign of international support for their racist rule.

In a dispatch from Cape Town, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Humphrey Tyler referred to "the fellow feeling between Israel and South Africa," characterizing them as "two brothers in adversity, as it were, who are cooperating to their mutual benefit."

But outside of South Africa, the treatment accorded the Vorster visit has been less lyrical. "According to diplomatic sources," Terence Smith reported, "the Dutch Government advised Israel that the visit would complicate the efforts of Israel's friends abroad to persuade the world that there is no connection between Zionism and racism."

The Israeli press generally defended the invitation to Vorster despite his unsavory reputation. "The Tel Aviv evening paper *Yediot Aharonot* did recall Mr Vorster's wartime sympathy for the Nazis, but only to reject it as a reason for not welcoming him," said a report in the April 11 London *Observer*.

Reuters reported in an April 9 dispatch that "Mr. Vorster appeared moved when he visited the Yad Vashem memorial to six million Jews killed by the Nazis and laid a wreath on a mass grave for concentration camp victims."



South Africa's Vorster, wartime Nazi sympathizer, visits memorial to six million dead.

Davar, the newspaper of Rabin's Labor party, argued that it was correct to welcome Vorster because Israeli "consideration for the feelings of the peoples of the black continent did not prevent those countries from cutting their ties with Israel when put to the test in 1973."

However, the rationalizations of Israeli journalists will have little effect on the rest of the world. As the Dutch government warned, Vorster's visit will greatly "complicate" any attempt to deny the racist character of Zionism.

The mass upsurge against Israeli occupation in the West Bank, the March 30 protest by the Arab population inside Israel, and the murder of a six-year-old child by Israeli troops in Ramallah on April 17 all testify to the real character of the Zionist state.

The fact is that Israel, like South Africa, is a racist colonial settler-state, founded at the expense of the country's native population. It is this reality that is pushing Tel Aviv into a common front with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

capability play a part in the U.S. global military alert of Oct. 25, 1973?"

The Israelis, the report noted, were convinced that the Soviet regime knew of their nuclear moves. *Time* says:

"What is certain is that on Oct. 13, the Russians dispatched nuclear warheads from Nikolaev—the naval base at Odessa—to Alexandria, to be fitted on Russian Scud missiles already based in Egypt. The U.S., in turn, detected the Soviet warheads as the ship carrying them passed through the Bosphorus on Oct. 15 and issued a warning to Moscow by means of a world military alert."

Although the fact is not mentioned in the *Time* article, Odessa itself is only a little more than 1,000 miles from Israel, and other major Soviet cities are even closer.

Israeli officials have denied the *Time* story, but have not offered to allow inspection of their nuclear facilities.

Israel's A-bombs

How 1973 Mideast war almost went nuclear



Part 3--Jewish rights and Palestinian liberation

The oppression of Soviet Jews under Stalinism

By David Frankel

[Last of a series]

The overtly anti-Semitic campaign begun by Stalin following his destruction of all organized forms of Jewish expression in the Soviet Union culminated in the infamous "Doctors' Plot." In January 1953 nine professors of medicine (six of them Jews), were publicly accused of conspiring to "wipe out the leading cadres of the Soviet Union."

These "murderers in white aprons," as they were called, had supposedly been working for the "international Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization" as well as British and American imperialism.

They were said to have been trained by "the hypocrite Mikhoels" [the most famous Yiddish actor in the Soviet Union and chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, murdered on orders from Stalin in January 1948]. Mikhoels, in imagery worthy of a passion play, had supposedly sold himself to the United States "for thirty pieces of silver." His followers, "loyal adherents of the Zionist kehillah," were "the personification of baselessness and abomination, the same kind as that of Judas Iscariot."¹

Jewish medical specialists and teachers, technicians, nurses, and students, were expelled from schools, hospitals, and laboratories. The Soviet historian Roy Medvedev has described how "the organs of the NKVD hastily prepared for a massive expulsion of the Jews from the main cities. . . . In several districts of Kazakhstan, barracks for Jews were urgently erected. A text of an appeal to the Jewish people, which several distinguished scientists and cultural leaders of Jewish nationality had to sign 'requesting' resettlement, was prepared; several large-scale factories passed resolutions about the eviction of Jews. . . ."²

In his biography of Stalin, Isaac Deutscher expressed the opinion, "If the intrigue had been allowed to run its course—if the trial of the doctors had been held—it could have only one sequel: a nation-wide pogrom."³

Fortunately, Stalin died before the affair reached its climax and his successors denounced the whole frame-up.

No coincidence

The fact that Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign reached such intensity during the period of 1948 to 1953 was not coincidental. This was the period of the cold war, and Stalin made conscious use of anti-Semitism in order to tighten his grip on the East European states conquered by the Red Army during the war.

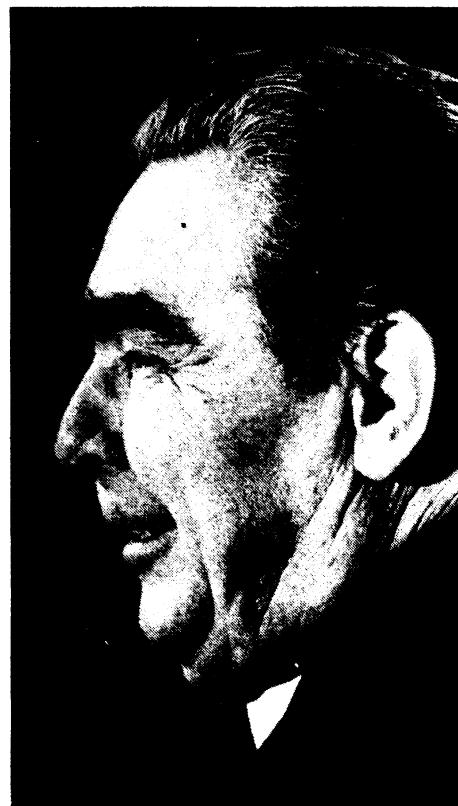
In May 1949 the first of the East European purge trials began in Hungary with the arrest of Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Rajk, a top Stalinist leader. Three of Rajk's six codefendants were Jews, and a hint of things to come was given in "confes-



KHRUSHCHEV: Sought to divert resentment of oppressed nationalities onto Jews.



STALIN: Used anti-Semitism to tighten grip on occupied East European countries.



BREZHNEV: Charges Zionism to undercut world support for Jewish rights.

sions" that one had been a member of a "Trotskyite-Zionist group," and another had spied "together with Zionist agents."

The use of anti-Semitism in the elimination of any potential opposition leaders in Eastern Europe reached its culmination in the 1952 trial of Rudolf Slansky, the number two leader of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Of the fourteen defendants in the Slansky trial, eleven were Jews. They were accused of being "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist bourgeois nationalist traitors and enemies of the Czechoslovak people." Where names were not obviously Jewish, the indictment added the identification of original names in parentheses.⁴

Demands for socialist democracy in Poland in 1968 and in Czechoslovakia that same year were met with massive "anti-Zionist" campaigns. When six Soviet dissenters demonstrated in Red Square on August 25, 1968, against the invasion of Czechoslovakia, police agents attacked them with shouts of "These are all dirty Jews."

Although there has been no campaign as sinister as the Doctors' Plot since Stalin's death, his bureaucratic heirs continue the policy of fanning anti-Semitic prejudice in order to maintain this option for use during political emergencies. In addition, Jews are routinely used as scapegoats for certain types of economic problems, and they are discriminated against culturally and in the area of political advancement.

Some of the anti-Semitic literature produced in the Soviet Union has been camouflaged as "antireligious propaganda." For example, *Minskaia Pravda*, a newspaper in the capital of Byelorussia, said in its April 4, 1961, edition, "Money! That is the God of the Minsk Jewish religious community

and their aides."

In October 1963 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences published a book by Trofim Kichko titled *Judaism Without Embellishment*. "What is the secular God [of the Jews]?" Kichko asks. "Money. Money, that is the jealous God of Israel."⁵

Kichko's book was printed complete with caricatures of hook-nosed rabbis. Even U.S. Communist party chief Gus Hall felt compelled to protest against this crude slur. Such material is produced in large quantities in Ukrainian and Moldavian languages that very few Soviet Jews are fluent in. The purpose is clearly not to convince religious Jews that they should be atheists, but to circulate anti-Semitic propaganda.

Stalinist 'anti-Zionism'

Anti-Zionist material that crosses the boundary of anti-Semitism is the main area in which Jews are defamed in Soviet literature. A recent example was an article in the Soviet weekly *Ogonyok*, dated October 12, 1974, by Dimitri Zhukov. The article claims, "The impertinence and the greedy aspirations of the Zionists are based on the fact that the greater part of industry, finance and news media in the capitalist countries is under the influence of the Zionist bourgeoisie."

It goes on to say, "In the post-war years alone, 70 milliard [billion] dollars have been extracted from the Latin-American countries. Three-fourths of this amount got into the hands of the monopolies led by the Zionist 'elite': Lehman, Lazar, Blaus-

tein, Stillman, Warburg, Kuhn, Guggenheim, Leb, Cahn, Rosenwald and Schiff."⁶

The invention of these fictional Jewish ruling class families was matched by an article in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on October 4, 1967, which claimed: "Zionist lawyers comprise about 70 per cent of all American lawyers; 60 per cent of the physicists (including those engaged in secret work on weapons of mass destruction) and over 43 per cent of industrialists. Adherents of Zionism amongst American Jews own 80 per cent of local and international news agencies."

In the area of admitted fiction, there have also been cases of open anti-Semitism. One example was the novel by Ivan Shevtsov, *In the Name of the Father and the Son*, published in 1970. According to Shevtsov, Zionism even "sent its agents into the international Communist and workers' movement," as when "Judas-Trotsky (Bronshtein), a typical agent of Zionism" became "international provocateur Number One."

The record since Stalin's death in the areas of political and cultural discrimination has been no better. As late as 1940 there were 85,000 to 90,000 children—20 percent of the Jewish student population—studying in schools where Yiddish was the language of instruction. Today, there is not a single Yiddish school or Yiddish class, in spite of the fact that in the 1970 census 380,000 persons still gave Yiddish, or one of the less common dialects spoken among Eastern Jews, as their mother tongue.

In the area of political representation, 10.8 percent of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party was composed of Jews in 1939. This figure stands at 0.3 percent today, far below the percentage of Jews in the population.

When the Khrushchev regime undertook a much-publicized campaign against economic crimes in the early 1960s, the practice of printing Jewish names in parentheses after Russian-

1. William Korey, *The Soviet Cage: Anti-Semitism in Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), p. 86.

2. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 627.

4. An account of the Stalinist record of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe can be found in Paul Lendvai's *Anti-Semitism Without Jews: Communist Eastern Europe* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971).

5. Other examples are cited by Korey in *The Soviet Cage* and by Kochan.

6. The National Jewish Commission of the U.S. Communist party issued a statement on this article published in the March-April 1975 issue of *Jewish Affairs*. While admitting that the article "contains a number of gross inaccuracies and statements with distinct anti-Semitic implications," the bulk of the statement was devoted to attacking the persons who protested.

sounding ones was restored. More than 50 percent of those executed for economic crimes were Jews, and in the Ukraine it reached 80 percent.

Other Soviet Nationalities

At the same time that the bureaucracy suppresses the national rights of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and dozens of other nationalities within the USSR, it plays them off against the Jews. The Ukrainian people, for example, are justifiably concerned about the destruction of their national heritage through Russification. The bureaucracy, while continuing to push its Russifying policies, seeks to divert the resentment of the Ukrainians towards the Jews, who are an urban, mostly Russian-speaking minority. Thus, Khrushchev told a delegation of the French Socialist party in 1956:

"Our heterogeneous populations have their republics. . . . Each of them has an autonomous government. Formerly backward and illiterate, these peoples now have their engineers and professionals. . . . Should the Jews want to occupy the foremost positions in our republics now, it would naturally be taken amiss by the indigenous inhabitants. The latter would ill-receive these pretensions, especially as they do not consider themselves less intelligent nor less capable than the Jews."

The fact that 92 percent of all top party posts on the USSR level are held by Russians reveals the real attitude of the bureaucracy toward the national question. The argument that Ukrainians, Byelorussians, or other minority nationalities are not sufficiently represented in one or another area is not used by the bureaucracy against the Great Russian oppressors, but against the Jews, who have themselves been oppressed by Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and other nationalities at the same time that all are oppressed by the Great Russians.

While the demand that all Russian-speaking officials in the Ukraine learn to speak Ukrainian, whether or not they are Jewish, is a reasonable one that would be supported by revolutionists, the bureaucracy's false concern about filling posts with representatives of different Soviet nationalities is one more way in which the Jews are in practice discriminated against.

7. Korey, *The Soviet Cage*, pp. 52-53.

In summing up the experience of the Jews in the Soviet Union it would be foolish and one-sided to deny the enormous progress that was made as a result of the revolutions of 1917. It is crystal clear, however, despite the protestations of the Stalinist apologists, that anti-Semitism remains a potent force. As in everything else, the stand of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the Jewish question is in complete contradiction to the traditions and ideals of socialism. What is needed is not a reevaluation of the socialist program, but only its application.

Program for Jewish rights

In view of the huge advances in the overall economic and cultural level of the Soviet Union since the early 1920s, it is clear that a return to the revolutionary nationalities policy followed by the Bolsheviks would produce even greater benefits today than it did when it was originally implemented. But the Stalinist bureaucracy is incapable of implementing such a policy. As a result, the question of how to combat the oppression of the Jews inside the Soviet Union is really part of the larger problem of the need for a political revolution by the Soviet workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities that would throw out the bureaucrats and reestablish a workers democracy in the USSR. The experiences of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 are indications of what the future holds for the Stalinist regime.

However, in the course of the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, the various oppressed layers of the population will mobilize around demands that reflect their own specific experiences. In the case of the Jews, these would include the demand to end the discriminatory quotas in education and admission to professions; full rights for the Yiddish language and for the development of Yiddish culture; respect for the right to practice the Jewish religion without discrimination or interference; and the right of those who want to leave the USSR to emigrate.

In addition, a genuine socialist government in the Soviet Union would be duty bound to spread the truth about the anti-Semitic crimes of Stalinism and the heroic role of the Jewish fighters who helped to found the Soviet state and defend it during World War

II. And it would open up the possibility for those who so desire to live in an autonomous territory in which Jewish culture would predominate.

Unfortunately, because of the popular identification of the Jewish dissidents in the Soviet Union with Zionism, some who solidarize with the struggle of the Palestinian people against national oppression in the Middle East are reluctant to support the equally valid struggle of the Soviet Jews against their oppression at the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Those who take this view are in error; in the first place, they are wrong about the character of the Jewish struggle in the USSR. It is not inspired by the desire to join in the oppression of Arabs in the Middle East, but by the desire to either alleviate or escape from oppression inside the USSR. The legitimacy of this struggle is clear from the entire history of the Jews under tsarism and under Stalinism.

From this point of view, the struggle of the Soviet Jews deserves the same unconditional support that revolutionists give to any struggle against national oppression. The fact that many of the most active participants in the struggle—or at least those whose resistance is most publicized—have adopted a pro-Zionist political outlook does not change the attitude of revolutionists toward this fight. Those who have become pro-Zionist have been driven in this direction by the oppression they have experienced at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucrats, and that is where the blame belongs. Furthermore, the only way to convince Soviet Jews to reject Zionism and turn toward revolutionary-socialist solutions is by standing with them on the ground of support to the struggle against anti-Semitism in the USSR.

Special arguments have been raised by some around the issue of Jewish emigration from the USSR. No other national group is allowed freedom of choice in this area either, but because of the particular circumstances this demand has become identified as a specifically Jewish issue.

The great majority of Soviet Jews do not want to emigrate; they simply want to live in the country of their birth without any discrimination. However, it is hardly surprising that many others do want to get out of the USSR. Even though this demand alone is insufficient to solve the problem of

discrimination, it is one of the democratic rights that must be defended against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Palestinian Liberation

Underlying the objections to the right of Soviet Jews to free emigration is the idea that restrictions on this right somehow help the Palestinian people in their struggle with Israel. This is a shortsighted view that leads to reactionary conclusions. The logic of this position would be to support the antidemocratic restrictions imposed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and to call on the bureaucracy to impose further restrictions.

Such a stand would undermine the Palestinian liberation movement as much as the antibureaucratic movement in the USSR. The Palestinian people have appealed to the world to support them because they are fighting against oppression. To refuse the same support to others carrying out such a struggle could only weaken that appeal.

The Zionists themselves often use the argument that the Jews of Europe were so oppressed that they were justified in coming to the Middle East and dispossessing the Palestinians. They are easily answered by explaining that the oppression of one people cannot be ended by supporting or participating in the oppression of another. That is the program of bourgeois nationalism, not of Marxism. This is also the case when the oppression of the Palestinians is used as an argument against the rights of Soviet Jews.

Of course, emigration from the Soviet Union is not the same thing as immigration into Israel. The first involves the relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the oppressed Jews, along with any others who might choose to leave. The second involves the relations between Jews and Arabs, and in this case the Jewish settlers have oppressed the Palestinians. In the present context in the Middle East the restoration of the Palestinians' right to self-determination is the first priority. Once that is achieved, the residents of Palestine can decide on a democratic immigration policy based on the capacities of the country.

The importance of distinguishing between the right of Jews to leave the Soviet Union and the right of the Zionist movement to colonize Palestine is underlined by the fact that many of those Jews who do decide to leave the USSR are not Zionists at all. The number of Soviet Jews reaching Vienna who chose not to go to Israel was 4 percent in 1973, 19 percent in 1974, and had gone up to 35 percent by the first four months of 1975. This percentage will increase if larger numbers of Jews leave the USSR.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has consciously used the charge of Zionism as a means of undercutting world support for Jewish rights in the Soviet Union. But while oppressing the Jews, it does nothing to help the Palestinians, using their struggle as a pawn in its cynical diplomatic maneuvers.

A strong stand in opposition to anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews, no matter where it takes place, is essential for any movement that hopes to win the Jewish population away from Zionism. The reality is that the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and the movement of Jews in the Soviet Union against their oppression are complementary. It is necessary to reaffirm the basic tenet of Marxist internationalism, that a blow against oppression anywhere in the world helps the class struggle everywhere.



'The Palestinian liberation struggle and the movement of Jews in the Soviet Union are complementary.'

Militant/Ike Nahem

Biggest since '68

Protests hit French university 'reforms'

In the biggest wave of student actions since May 1968, demonstrators have shut down most of the French university system.

The demonstrations are in protest against cutbacks in the university system, scheduled to take effect at the beginning of the school year in October. In many instances, the actions have been brutally attacked by the police.

On April 23, tens of thousands of students demonstrated in Paris, the largest university center and the national focus of the protests. "Estimates of the size of the day's demonstration ranged from 20,000 to 70,000, according to protest organizers," the *New York Times* reported April 24.

On April 15, an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 students marched in Paris, with an equal number taking part in protests in other university cities throughout the country. "Students are on strike at 40 universities, making it the biggest protest since the widespread worker-student actions of May 1968," correspondent Paul Webster reported in an April 16 dispatch to the *Manchester Guardian*.

According to a report in the April 14 *New York Times*, "a third of France's 850,000 students [are] estimated to be participating" in the protests, "giving rise to fears of a repetition of the



True face of French university 'reforms' is shown by police attacks on student demonstrations

student uprisings of May 1968." Weeks of demonstrations and marches throughout the country preceded the two Paris marches.

At issue is a series of government measures aimed at making the university system more "responsive" to the needs of French capital. Under the government's plan, admission to the universities is to become more "selective." At the same time, some courses of study are to be shortened, others eliminated altogether. In addition, French businessmen are to be given a direct say in shaping national educational policy.

The underlying issue is unemployment, particularly explosive in France, where more than a third of the one million jobless are under twenty-five years of age. Many of them hold diplomas representing years of advanced schooling.

The French student population, which has doubled in the last ten years, is one of the largest in Europe. There are four times as many university students as in Britain, which has roughly the same population, and 250,000 more than in West Germany, which has a population ten million larger. French capitalists claim that neither they nor the state can absorb the present number of graduates, and

propose instead to simply shut the university doors to many prospective applicants.

French President Giscard d'Estaing has attempted to counter the outpouring of student protest by a combination of brute force and verbal concessions.

On April 8 student demonstrators gathering at the Paris train station Gare de l'Est were summarily dispersed by police, with anyone "looking like a demonstrator" being detained for an "identity check." Students occupying the rector's office at the Sorbonne were brutally clubbed that same day, and police also attacked demonstrations of 1,200 persons in Rennes and 1,000 in Clermont-Ferrand.

On April 9, 5,000 students and striking teachers marched in Paris, denouncing the previous day's police attacks. Two days later student delegates attending a strike conference in Amiens called a national day of action for Paris April 15 and empowered a committee to seek trade-union support for the protest.

As support for the April 15 action mounted, the government began to take a more conciliatory stance. Alice Saunier-Seité, state secretary for the universities, announced April 13 that the timetable for the reforms would be

"reviewed" and that they would "be adopted only following broad consultations." Organizers of the demonstration denounced the statement as a "none too subtle maneuver" designed to divide the student movement.

The government bid "is a very slight retreat," the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported April 14. Its aim is "to divert students from their objective, which is to have the reforms canceled completely." The "true face" of the reforms, the *Rouge* report said, had been shown in Toulouse the day before, when 4,000 students were "brutally attacked" by the police.

The April 15 demonstration was an effective answer to the government. Despite disruption efforts by provocateurs and club-swinging police, student marshals succeeded in continuing the demonstration.

Joseph Krasny, writing in the April 17 *Rouge*, said the action would perhaps be looked back to as "marking a turning point in the struggle" against the reforms. Although attempts to secure the support of the two major trade-union federations have not yet been successful, he said, the most important point was that "masses of high-school students, university students, and teachers turned out in response to the call issued by the Amiens coordinating committee."

12 beaten

Dublin jails 23 Irish militants

By Steve MacDonogh

DUBLIN—Wholesale arrests of members of the Irish Republican Socialist party in Dublin indicate a concerted attempt to smash the left-republican organization. The brutality accompanying interrogations has sparked a campaign against the rising tide of police brutality and in defense of civil liberties.

Seventeen members of the IRSP and six friends and relatives of members were arrested and held for varying periods between March 31 and April 10. All were questioned about the recent robbery of the Cork-Dublin mail train, and five have been charged with

conspiracy and with the armed robbery of £221,000 [about US\$409,000].

Of those arrested, twelve were beaten during interrogation, some very seriously. One was so badly injured that he was transferred on the orders of the High Court to a hospital, suffering from concussion and loss of memory. The cases of members who were beaten are being taken up by the Association for Legal Justice (ALJ).

Speaking on Friday, IRSP leader Seamus Costello was emphatic that all those charged can prove conclusively that they were not at the scene of the crime with which they are charged. "This is quite clearly an attempt to smash our party, to suppress our paper, and possibly to close our offices, as was done in the case of the Provisional Sinn Fein offices three years ago," he said.

This is not the first time that the IRSP has come in for intensive harassment from the Gardai [police] in Dublin. Following an explosion and murder on a railway line at Sallins on June 18, 1975, police arrested the majority of IRSP members in the Dublin area. Costello was held for forty-eight hours, others for different periods, but no charges resulted.

"This was a deliberate attempt by the state to link the IRSP in the public mind with the Sallins case," Costello said.

The line of questioning pursued by

the Special Branch interrogators on that occasion indicated that they had no evidence to link the IRSP with the case. Later, it became clear that it had been the work of the Ulster Volunteer Force, since fingerprints found at the scene matched the fingerprints of UVF members who died at the scene of their murder of musicians of the Miami Showband at a fake roadblock near the border.

"We believe," Costello said, "that the goal of these latest arrests is the same as the previous harassment. But this time they have gone much further. They have carried out systematic torture of our members, and the fact that it was so systematically carried out by teams of interrogators indicates that it must have received government approval."

Costello was arrested on April 5, held for forty-eight hours, rearrested within the precincts of the Bridewell Police Station, and held a further eleven hours. As in the cases of other IRSP members, he was moved from station to station during his period of detention. The only way his solicitor was able to locate him was by threatening to bring an action of habeas corpus in the High Court.

Particular attention appears to have been reserved for Osgur Breathnach, editor of the *Starry Plough*, who was first arrested March 31, held for forty-eight hours, rearrested, held again for

forty-eight hours, and rearrested again.

In a habeas corpus action, a doctor stated that Breathnach was in need of hospital treatment as a result of injuries received while in police custody. The court ordered that he be transferred to a hospital until April 8, when the court again ordered that he be released. However, as he stepped out of the court he was rearrested and charged with the train robbery.

On the evening of April 9, Mick Barrett, a friend of one of those charged with the robbery, was arrested. Barrett is a witness to the fact that the charged man was nowhere near the scene of the crime. By arresting him and attempting to implicate him, it may reasonably be presumed that the police intend to destroy his credibility as a defense witness.

At the same time, the friend at whose house Barrett was arrested was also arrested; and on the morning of April 10 the friend's wife and thirteen-year-old son were also arrested. None are members of the IRSP. Two other non-IRSP members who were held earlier were members of Provisional Sinn Fein and the Revolutionary Marxist Group respectively.

Protest letters and telegrams can be sent to: Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave, Leinster House, Dublin 2, Ireland. Copies should be sent to: IRSP, 1A Essex Gate, Dublin 2, Ireland.

By Dick Roberts

Across the pages of the financial press the message is the same everywhere: The U.S. economy has revived from its worst slump since the 1930s; the upturn is faster and sharper than anyone expected; corporations will reap the highest profits ever.

The only questions troubling financiers are how long the boom will last—and how high the stock market will go in the meantime.

"The economic recovery is really rolling now," says *Business Week*, May 3.

"Real gross national product (GNP adjusted for price change) rose at a hefty annual rate of 7½% in the first quarter. . . .

"Real GNP rose 6.9% in the past year. That's a pretty good bounce back for the first year of a business cycle recovery."

Besides the growth in output and the accompanying sharp rise in profits, two other factors especially impress American executives at this point: the drop in the rate of inflation at home, and the exceptionally favorable position of U.S. business relative to its imperialist rivals abroad.

In the first quarter of 1976, the Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of 2.9 percent, the lowest rate of inflation since 1972, when Nixon's wage controls were in effect.

On the more significant year-to-year basis, consumer prices rose 6.1 percent between March 1975 and March 1976. This compares with the peak rise of 12.2 percent in the year ending December 1974. The double-digit inflation rates of that period helped to throw the economy into its two-year decline.

World competition

"The American economy is expected to lead the world's economic recovery," reports Britain's financial weekly the *Economist*, April 17.

The *Economist* singles out a new factor in U.S.-European economic relations. For the first time in decades, U.S. corporations are cutting their rate of investment in Europe. The U.S. firms expect to profit more from the fast-moving upturn back home.

Moreover, explains the *Economist*, "America's wage costs plus fringe benefits are no longer much higher than those of workers in northern Europe. Sometimes they are lower: in mid-1975 hourly labour costs for employing an American shipworker were \$7.06, against \$8.07 for a Swede and \$7.46 for a German."

The *Economist* complains about the differences between "job security" in the United States and Europe: "During a slump American companies lay off workers to cut output and reduce wage bills. Most American employees are on contracts that permit a single week's notice. The unions cooperate in picking the men who will be given dismissal slips. . . ." In Europe unions have won greater job protection.

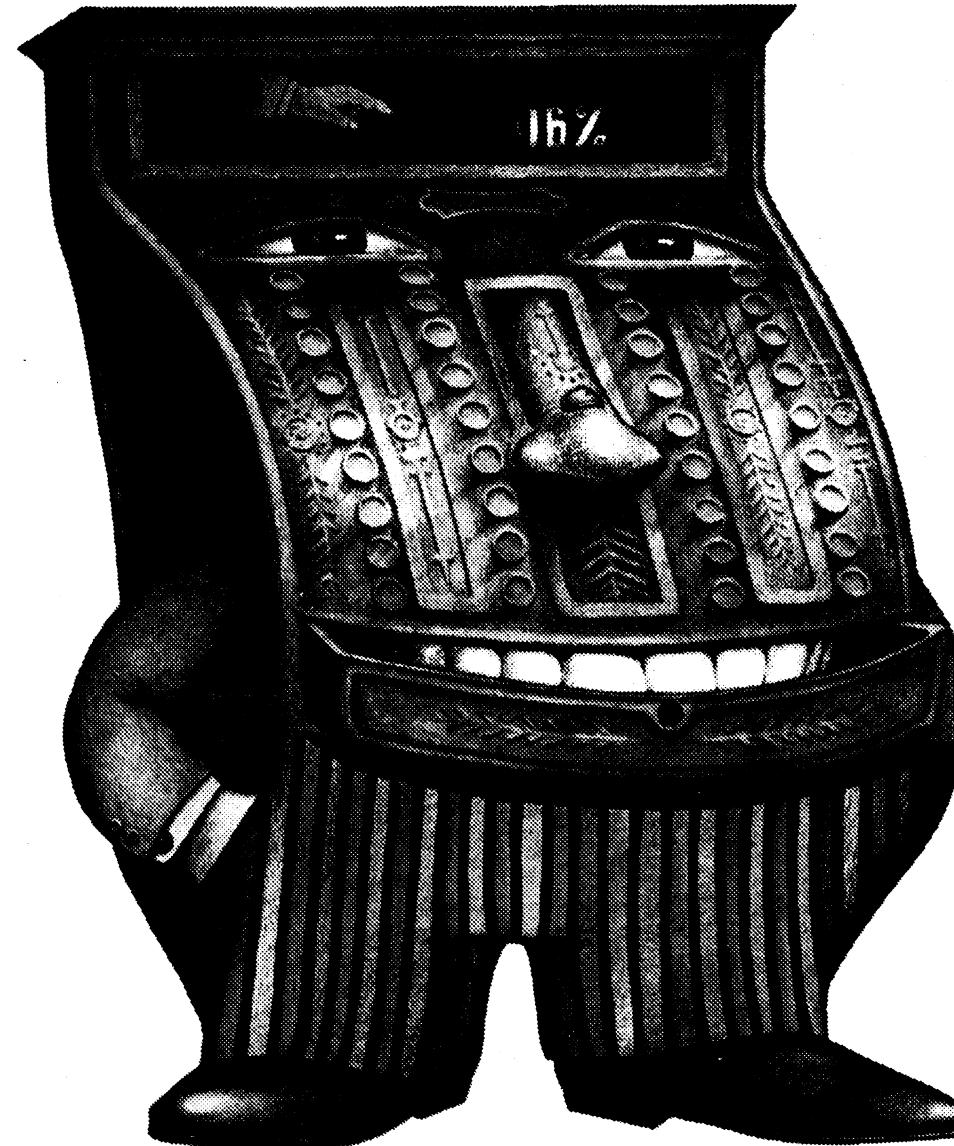
As an example, the *Economist* says that in the world slump last year, Eaton Corporation was able to "cut its American workforce from 31,000 to 25,000, but was allowed to reduce its overseas workforce only marginally from 19,000 to 18,000."

These figures call attention to the central explanation of the profitable revival of the U.S. economy: the ability of the American ruling class to reconstitute a massive reserve army of unemployed workers, in order to pit workers against each other in the struggle for jobs and drastically undercut wage increases as a result.

Unemployment

Even in March, as industrial production turned upward across the land, there were still seven million workers officially unemployed, 7.5 percent of the work force. If the number of "discouraged workers" is added—people who have given up looking for jobs because they can't find any—the total comes to nearly eight million unem-

Behind the economic recovery



High unemployment registers high profits: essence of U.S. capitalist recovery

ployed.

On top of this, however, there are also nearly two million workers, according to AFL-CIO estimates, who are forced to work part-time instead of full-time. The AFL-CIO gave the true unemployment figure in March as 9.7 million, a rate of 10.3 percent.

Despite the recovery in production, there are more workers unemployed now than at any time since the Great Depression of the 1930s—millions more.

This vast army of unemployed workers—disproportionately made up of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and women—is the weapon the employers use to bludgeon those workers who do have jobs into accepting lower pay.

This "secret" of America's economic success is well known on Wall Street. In a pitch to sell stocks, the investment weekly *Value Line* boasted March 26, "Unions in the United States have . . . a modicum of economic understanding. *Value Line* finds encouraging such incidents as the recent two-year settlement of a multicraft labor contract in Detroit for a moderate annual increase in wages and benefits of 6.5%; the explanation of a union official: 'Our membership's 50% unemployed.'"

Adds *Value Line*: "The beginning of economic wisdom!"

The beginning of economic

wisdom—that capitalist profits come from driving down wages!

This points to still another aspect of the recovery. It is based not only on massive unemployment and lower wage increases, but also on the economic decline of a whole series of big cities—including the site of *Value Line*'s example, Detroit.

New York crisis

But it is still New York City, the nation's financial headquarters, that most vividly illustrates the contradictory character of the U.S. recovery. For in New York, the across-the-board attack on city workers and the slashing of social services at all levels is being deepened and extended. The rulers of this country hope that this is an irreversible process.

The February 2 *New York Times* reported on New York's future as envisioned by the Municipal Assistance Corporation, the banking outfit that controls the city budget.

"They see," according to the *Times*, "New York as a city with fewer students in a public and secondary school system that is sharply cut back; a lean hospital complex combining municipal, voluntary nonprofit, and doctor-owned proprietary facilities; . . . a constantly shrinking labor force; a return to concern for pocket neighbor-

hoods as opposed to citywide master planning. . . ."

The February 20 *New York Times* reported on the layoffs that have already taken place: "In the last 18 months . . . the city lost half of its Spanish-speaking workers, 40 percent of the black males on the payroll and almost a third of its female workers.

"You are close to wiping out the minority work force in the City of New York," said Eleanor Holmes Norton, the chairman of the Commission on Human Rights.

According to the *Times*, "Scores of complaints alleging discrimination have been filed by laid-off workers, both as class members and individuals, squeezing the city between the pressures of the traditional primacy of union seniority protections and Federal equal-employment requirements."

The real squeeze is on workers. By pitting workers against each other at all levels—white against Black and Puerto Rican, men against women, older against younger, cities against suburbs—U.S. capitalism assembles the ingredients of the new economic upturn.

Limitations

• But there are serious limitations.

- It is by no means certain that inflation rates can be kept very long at their present levels (which are only low by comparison with 1974-75).

Throughout the economy, as monopolists see prospects for upping their sales, they will also raise prices. This has already begun in basic metals. The prices of steel, copper, and aluminum are creeping upwards, even before major spending for plants and equipment gets off the ground.

- Corporate spending on plant and equipment slowed down in the first quarter of 1976 compared with the last quarter of 1975. It is in the nature of capitalist business cycles for investment in new factories to lag behind increased production of consumer goods and this is no exception.

But U.S. monopoly also faces the long-term fall in profit rates that has wracked capitalist industry around the globe. Investors would like a guarantee of profits before they undertake the immensely expensive operations that plant construction requires. It is a guarantee that cannot be made. "Industrial construction this year," *Business Week* said April 5, "despite a frenzy of new building in oil refining and petrochemicals, will probably not reach two-thirds of the 1969 level."

- Finally, it is far from assured that workers will allow continued cuts in their standard of living without pushing their unions into fighting back economically and politically.

The fight for effective, unlimited cost-of-living escalators, the top demand in the rubber strike and the recent Teamsters' strike . . . the struggle of Blacks and women for equal rights and equal pay . . . the resistance by students, teachers, and municipal workers to the budget slashes—all these threaten to upset the capitalists' dreams of higher profits through heightened exploitation of the working masses.

Further reading

Capitalism in Crisis

Dick Roberts explains the factors behind the economic upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s. Topics include inflation, the "New Economic Policy," energy crisis, and the failure of Keynesian economics.

128 pp., cloth \$7.00, paper \$1.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Who's writing what to Camejo and Reid?

By Andrea Morell, director,
1976 campaign committee

Who is being attracted to the socialist campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid? What parts of the country do they come from? How did they hear about the Socialist Workers

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

party? What are their ideas? And what are their questions?

To best answer these questions, let's allow a few of the dozens of people who write to us each week to speak for themselves.

Some of the letters are from people who have become convinced that the Socialist Workers party is the party *for them*. From Missoula, Montana, a campaign supporter writes:

"I am a regular *Militant* subscriber and I feel that I have reached the point where I would sincerely like to join the SWP. I have found the [SWP] resolution of last summer, 'The Decline of American Capitalism,' to be very much in line with my own thoughts and feelings."

Another writes: "I am a fifteen-year-old student in the staunchly conserva-

tive city of Jacksonville. I watched a PBS [Public Broadcasting Service] television program about Peter Camejo. I was delighted and I would desperately like to find out more about this party. Finally, me and my friends would like to know if we are too young to join the party. If so, how can we join a socialist group for young people."

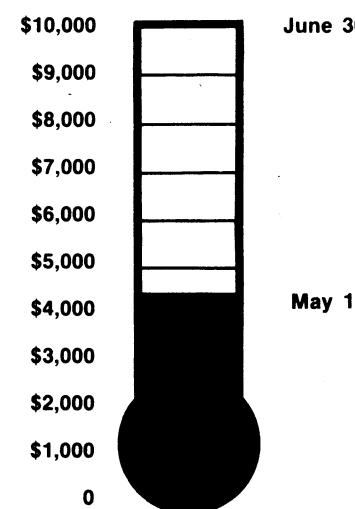
The national campaign office sent this supporter information about the Young Socialist Alliance, Camejo and Reid's most energetic campus campaigners.

A GI stationed overseas says: "I have been following the campaigns of the major candidates, and I am thoroughly disgusted with all of them. I am looking for candidates who are interested in doing something for the people of this country—not big business."

After Willie Mae Reid's recent swing through the South, the owner of a "small, family-style restaurant" in Macon, Georgia, wrote offering to help out by distributing posters, buttons, and other campaign material to his customers.

Are the SWP's campaign proposals in touch with the day-to-day needs of American working people? A Chicano supermarket employee from San Antonio would answer yes.

How we're doing



J.A. and family."

The Camejo & Reid '76 Fund is essential to reach the thousands of potential campaign supporters who haven't yet heard our proposals.

Last week campaign supporters in three states sent in \$251 to the fund. The total now stands at \$4,302. Our goal is to raise \$10,000 by June 30. Please add your contribution to this important effort by mailing in the coupon below.

Make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ ____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business Address _____

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson: Fred Halstead; treasurer: Arthur Hughes.

Hubert Humphrey's working-class competition

By Holly Harkness

MINNEAPOLIS—Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic party's leading "friend of labor," will face some authentic working-class competition in his race for reelection to the U.S. Senate this year.

Bill Peterson, a railroad worker here in Minneapolis, recently announced he is running on the Socialist Workers party ticket. At a rally held to launch the campaign, Peterson blasted his opponent's "solution" to this country's high unemployment level—the Humphrey-Hawkins "jobs" bill now being debated in Congress.

"This bill calls 3 percent unemployment 'full employment,'" Peterson said. "Three million people out of work is full employment? And the bill doesn't even apply to the several million teen-agers who need jobs."

"What's more," Peterson said, "Humphrey's target for this election-year scheme is 1981, and then only if 'practicable'—that is, profitable for the capitalists. *The bill itself doesn't create a single job.*"

Peterson's campaign platform offers Minnesota working people an alternative solution. "We favor a massive public works program to put the

unemployed back to work," the platform says. It points out that the money for such a program could be found by eliminating the government's \$115 billion war budget.

"And we support a reduction of the work week, with no reduction in pay, to

spread the available work around," the platform adds.

Peterson's candidacy was announced at a news conference in early April. His statement was covered by three Twin Cities television stations on the evening news. Three local newspapers also announced his campaign.

The kickoff campaign rally was held April 10 at the SWP's new Minneapolis headquarters at 15 Fourth Street Southeast. One hundred fifteen people attended.

At the rally, the SWP announced five other candidates: Ralph Schwartz and Chris Frank in the Fourth and Fifth U.S. congressional districts; and Libby Moser, Claire Cunningham, and Jim Carson for state senate.

The new St. Paul SWP branch will house the campaign headquarters for Schwartz and Moser. The branch's office and bookstore is located at 176 Western Avenue North.

Moser spoke at the kickoff rally, calling attention to the miserable record of the current legislature. Last year this body came within one vote of rescinding its former ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. This year the entire session was wasted arguing over the location of a multi-million-dollar sports arena.

"We want this state to be run in the interests of the majority of people who live here," Moser said, "instead of for big corporations like Honeywell, 3M, Reserve Mining, and the owners of the Twins and Vikings."

Two local feminist leaders, Avis Foley and Ramona Austin, brought greetings to the rally. Foley, chairwoman of the Women's Political Caucus here, invited the socialist candidates to seek the endorsement of the caucus.

Austin, a coordinator of the Minority Task Force of the Minnesota National Organization for Women, said that the SWP offers "a genuine alternative."

"America is ready for the SWP," Austin said.

Andrew Pulley, the SWP's 1972 vice-presidential candidate, also spoke at the rally. Pulley is now the party's candidate in Illinois's First Congressional District.

Participants in the rally sent a message of solidarity to Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement now facing racist frame-ups in both South Dakota and Oregon.

During the meeting three people signed up to join the SWP and two decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Arizona ballot drive off to good start

By Bruce Marcus

PHOENIX—"Is that for the socialists? I've been looking for you. Let me sign."

That was the reaction of a student at Arizona State University in Tempe—one of the 13,500 people here in Arizona who have signed petitions to place Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the November ballot. Camejo and Reid are the Socialist Workers party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Jessica Sampson, chairperson of the Phoenix Young Socialist Alliance and a coordinator of the petitioning effort, told the *Militant*, "To qualify the SWP for the Arizona ballot, we have to collect 11,000 signatures of registered voters before July 9. But to be sure that Camejo and Reid qualify, we set

ourselves the goal of collecting significantly more than that."

During the first week of the drive, Reid came to Phoenix to support the petitioning effort. Several people who heard Reid speak volunteered to pitch in to collect signatures.

"Phoenix has the reputation of being a conservative city," another campaign supporter explained. "And ASU's reputation is pretty much the same. But people here are genuinely interested in what we have to say. We are meeting people who are potential campaign supporters."

At least one signer has already written to the campaign's national headquarters asking to join the SWP.

Petitioning is scheduled to continue through May 15. Anyone who can help put the SWP on the Arizona ballot

should contact: Jessica Sampson, c/o YSA, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Arizona 85252. Telephone: (602) 277-9453.

Help Texas petitioning

Texas socialists have launched a statewide drive to collect more than 16,000 signatures required to qualify the Socialist Workers party for the November ballot.

Texas *Militant* readers are urged to help petition. Campaign committees in Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio can be contacted at the addresses listed in the Socialist Directory on page 26.

Campaigning for Socialism

SOCIALISM IS NEWSWORTHY: Peter Camejo's campaign for president on the Socialist Workers party ticket is stirring up quite a bit of interest in newsrooms around the country.

During Camejo's speaking tour in Philadelphia last month, the *Washington Post* sent staff writer Myra MacPherson to cover one of his campaign meetings. On April 19 MacPherson's story, along with a large photograph of Camejo, was featured on page 3 as part of the newspaper's "Campaign '76" series.

The *Post* also released the story through its wire services. The story was picked up in the *International Herald-Tribune*, a daily published in Paris and widely circulated in Europe; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*; and the *New York Post*.

While Camejo was in Washington, D.C., the following week, two other major dailies sought him out. The *Chicago Daily News* assigned Robert Gruenberg of its D.C. bureau to cover Camejo's tour. Gruenberg's article, headlined "Jabbing away at capitalism," appeared April 22.

The *Washington Star*, the city's afternoon paper, ran a front-page interview with Camejo in their April 27 issue. The *Star's* radio advertising that day announced: "Read the *Star* to find out why a socialist is running for president."

MORE NEWS ABOUT NEWS: Camejo also popped up in the *Washington Post* on April 4. Staff writer Myra MacPherson went out to Madison, Wisconsin, during the primary electioneering in that state. She wanted to find out what students are thinking about the candidates this year.

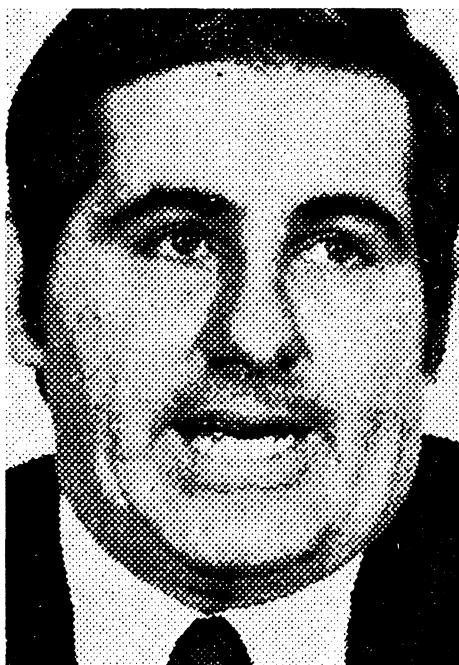
Barbara Koss, a senior political science major, told MacPherson: "I have a hard time taking [this year's election] seriously. There are a lot of progressive-minded people on this campus who are into volunteer work instead. Like I work for the United Farm Workers. Most of my friends, if they vote, are going to vote for Peter Camejo."

Maybe that's why MacPherson was eager to do a story on Camejo two weeks later.

NEW JERSEY SOCIALISTS FILE FOR BALLOT STATUS: Supporters of Peter Camejo and his running

mate, Willie Mae Reid, filed 2,400 signatures April 28 in Trenton, New Jersey's state capital. The signatures are required under New Jersey law to ensure the two candidates a spot on the November ballot.

Petitions containing 400 signatures to place Larry Stewart, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, on the ballot were also filed.



GOVERNOR NOEL: Won't change opinion.

'ETHNIC PURITY' RIDES AGAIN: Is Rhode Island Gov. Philip Noel a speechwriter for Jimmy Carter? You might think so from Noel's remarks on school busing and desegregation during an interview last October.

Busing just doesn't work, according to Noel. "Take a kid from a Black ghetto, bus him across town to a white school, he's there four hours under classroom instruction," he said.

"The other eighteen hours he's back in that sweatshop or wherever he came from with the drunken father and the mother that's out peddling her ass or whatever."

Rhode Island Black leaders were justifiably outraged by these bigoted remarks; thirty-five of them met with Noel about the matter last month. After the meeting, the Black leaders issued a statement saying that the "governor's remarks were racist and perpetuate racist attitudes" about the Black family.

Commenting on the meeting, Noel told reporters: "I didn't change my opinion. I certainly will change my choice of words so they would not be misconstrued in the future."

By the way, Noel will be chairman of the platform committee at this summer's Democratic national convention. It should be some platform.

A BETTER ONE: The Socialist Workers party's "platform committee" has just issued a new brochure that will be quite a bit more useful for Black voters. Entitled "The Fight for Black Equality," it is a lively complement to the party's 1967 election platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Copies of the new brochure can be ordered for two cents each, and copies of the "Bill of Rights" for three cents each. Write to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

SOCIALIST GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE: Linda Thompson, SWP candidate for governor of Illinois, toured East St. Louis and other southern Illinois cities April 1 and 2.

East St. Louis is an overwhelmingly Black city. According to government figures, as many as 70 percent of the people there receive some form of government assistance.

Thompson campaigned outside the local food stamp office, where she received an overwhelmingly positive response.



Militant/George Basley

LINDA THOMPSON

More than seventy-five students heard Thompson speak at meetings on Southern Illinois University campuses in Edwardsville and Carbondale. As a result of her talks, sixteen people volunteered to work on the socialist campaign.

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and the *Metro-East Journal* all covered Thompson's tour, as did several radio stations and campus papers.

CAMEJO IN HOOSIER COUNTRY: Peter Camejo was in Indianapolis April 26; just about anybody who listens to radio, watches television, or reads the newspapers there knew it.

The socialist candidate's news conference was covered by NBC and an independent TV station on their evening local news programs, as well as by two radio stations, including the Black radio station WTLG. Articles about Camejo appeared in both Indianapolis dailies, the *News* and the *Star*.

In addition, Camejo taped an interview with WNTS radio and gave an interview to Indianapolis's Black-community weekly, the *Recorder*. That evening Camejo spoke at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis.

Earlier that day Camejo spoke at the main campus of Indiana University in Bloomington. More than eighty students attended the meeting. The campus newspaper, the *Daily Student*, featured Camejo's talk as its major front-page story the next day, headlining it: "Camejo hits two-party politics."

Bloomington's alternative newspaper *Fun City* also ran a major article on Camejo.

The socialist candidate also spoke at a meeting of eighty-five students at Ball State University in Muncie.

FAIR AND EQUAL ACCESS?: The U.S. Court of Appeals ruled April 12 that radio and television stations can broadcast debates and news conferences by candidates—including incumbents—without giving equal time to their opponents.

The court ruling upheld a 1975 decision by the Federal Communications Commission. The decision represents another blow to the right of the American people to hear the views of all the candidates and parties running for public office.

—Steve Clark

Reid livens up some California schoolwork

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Darlene had been assigned by her Black history instructor to go hear Willie Mae Reid when Reid spoke at Pasadena City College (PCC).

Now she was sitting in a Pasadena living room with half a dozen others who, like herself, were interested in finding out more about the Socialist Workers party's Black vice-presidential candidate.

Darlene's class assignment had become something she herself wanted to do.

Some of Reid's supporters, members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, were on hand to talk, answer questions, and share cookies and punch.

As the hour got late, the discussion turned to the Pasadena Plan, a school desegregation plan being fought by the Pasadena school board.

Tim Mallory, who ran for the Pasadena school board on the SWP ticket, explained how the board had sabotaged the plan every step of the way. Michael, a Black student at PCC,

listened carefully. "I'm for using buses—or even cars or battleships if necessary," he said. "We've just got to get an equal education."

The night before, Reid spoke at the Jackie Robinson Center in Pasadena's Black community. The audience was mostly Black. Of the fifty or so people in the room, about thirty-five had never been to any kind of socialist meeting before.

One campaign supporter had convinced her sociology professor to bring her class to hear Reid. Many of the students had their pads of paper out as if at a lecture. They were prepared to take notes for the exam that might follow.

But as Reid spoke about the racist violence in Boston and the need to defend the rights of Black people, the audience began to listen with more interest. It wasn't just a class assignment any more.

Reid blasted the default in leadership by Black Democrats, who have done nothing to mobilize Blacks to defend their rights. "If we had those 3,500 Black elected officials in an

independent party—based on the power and the needs of our community—we could deal with the situation in Boston, and we could deal with the situation here in Pasadena."

When the socialist nominee finished, she got a big ovation.



Militant/Reiko Obata
Reid (right) campaigns in Berkeley during California tour. Behind her is socialist campaign sound truck.

I saw several of the same faces again the next night in that Pasadena living room.

During Reid's ten-day stay in the Los Angeles area, she spoke on a number of campuses. A lot of the students who heard her were new to politics.

At Cal State University at Los Angeles, I watched as students drifted by during a class break, half listening with one ear, only to be riveted to the spot by her forceful style and message.

The students' questions reflected their newly awakened interest in politics. "What is socialism really all about?" one asked.

"Under socialism," Reid explained, "the majority of the population will decide on how the economy runs. Production will be on the basis of what is good for the majority."

"We already have the technical ability to produce goods to raise our standard of living, but production stops when producing more would cut into profits. Under socialism, we would produce what people need—not to make profits for the rich."

Calendar

BROOKLYN
WILLIAMSBURG/CROWN HEIGHTS

BOROUGH-WIDE SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN '76 RALLY. Speakers: Pat Wright, SWP candidate for Congress, 14 C.D.; Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Shirley Smedley, president, Ebbets Field Residents Organization; Curtis Odom, Black Culture Club, Long Island Univ.; and representative from Pan-African Students Organization of the Americas. Fri., May 14. Buffet, 7:00 p.m.; rally, 8:30 p.m. Tivoli Towers, community room, 49 Crown St., Bklyn. Donation: \$2.50, buffet, rally, and party; \$1.00, rally and party. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

AGAINST OUR WILL: A discussion of Susan Brownmiller's book. Speakers: Jeanne Van Atta, Rape Crisis Center; Alyson Kennedy, SWP. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Betty Brooks, cochairperson of women's studies department, California State University at Long Beach; Laura Dertz, pro-ERA activist. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. 3322 Anaheim St. (corner of Redondo). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Countering the attack on working people. Thurs., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 3322 Anaheim St. (corner of Redondo). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES

WHY THE POLITICIANS IGNORE BLACK ISSUES. Featuring: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Margaret Mora, candidate for Los Angeles Board of Supervisors, member of SWP; Michele Sims, Gary Tyler Defense Committee. Wed., May 12. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westside Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 735-9801.

NEW ORLEANS

RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW: THREAT TO WORKING PEOPLE. Speaker: Nat LaCour, president of United Teachers of New Orleans, member of executive board of Greater New Orleans Central Trade and Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

PORTRALD
OREGON SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; George Kontanis, SWP mayoral candidate. Fri., May 14. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Blessed Sacrament Church, 4620 N. Maryland (near N. Going and Interstate). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Oregon Socialist Workers '76 Campaign Committee. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

...NAACP

Continued from page 4

the right of Black sailors to write letters that sparked twenty-five years of spying by the FBI. Begun ostensibly to determine if there was "Communist infiltration" of the group, it continued and escalated, even after informers attested to the "anticommunism" of the NAACP.

Both the House and Senate investigations have now ended. "The best thing is that it's over," Senate Intelligence Committee member Howard Baker told reporters April 28.

But it's not over for the American people. There are still many secret files yet to be revealed. Two days after the final Senate report on the spying on his group, NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins publicly charged the FBI with a cover-up of its role in the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

In a letter to Attorney General Edward Levi, Wilkins called for a non-FBI investigation of the bureau's involvement in the 1969 assassinations.

... Chicano

Continued from page 15

DeVargas has been charged for possession of heroin with intent to distribute and other crimes.

The convention passed a resolution condemning these attacks and demanding that they stop.

Juan José Peña was elected state president for the coming year. In a recent interview printed in Spanish in *La Voz del Pueblo*, a New Mexico magazine published by RUP activists, he explained the goals of the party.

"The Party was founded in May 1972 . . . to establish and obtain control over our own destiny. We recognized that 47 percent of the inhabitants of this state are Chicanos and with the 10 percent or more that are Indians, we are the majority. But we didn't have a majority in anything but the jails, the soup kitchens, and those receiving public assistance. . . .

"Given the numbers that we have," Peña continued, "we should control the state of New Mexico, but to do this we have to unite all our people instead of having them divided between the Democrats and the Republicans."

Asked why Chicanos should be in the Raza Unida instead of the Democratic or Republican parties, he replied: "You just have to look at the principles of the Party adopted at the state convention, and you can see that the Party defends the poor people, not the rich and established people as the Democrats and Republicans do."

... Portland

Continued from back page

several places where the alleged explosives could have been stored. He ruled that the government couldn't use picture or stories about the dynamite in court.

The government appealed the ruling and attempted to get the trial put off.

Meanwhile, the defense committee helped organize a speaking tour for Banks throughout Oregon that was enthusiastically received. Among the highlights of the tour were:

- An April 22 meeting at the University of Oregon in Eugene, where Banks spoke to 1,300 people.

"Most Americans are ashamed of

what their ancestors did to Indian people," Banks told the rally. "The federal government exploits this sense of shame to keep non-Indian citizens in the dark about the murders and land thefts that are still taking place in Indian country."

- A Portland State University rally April 23 attended by 650 people, sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism.

- An April 24 benefit at the home of supporters, which drew 200 people and raised \$1,000 for the defense effort.

During the tour Banks also spoke to a Militant Bookstore Forum attended by 100 people who contributed eighty-five dollars to the defense, and at a meeting of 250 at Clatsop Community College in Astoria.

Kamook Banks and Ellen Moves Camp, an AIM leader from Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, spoke about the case to 325 women on April 25. The meeting was organized by and held at the Mountain Moving Cafe, a feminist community center.

Three full-time organizers from the defense committee are visiting campuses all over the state to win support for a May 8 demonstration that will be held in Portland.

The action will demand dropping all charges against the four defendants and that Dennis Banks not be extradited to South Dakota. Banks is wanted in that state for sentencing on a trumped-up rioting charge. Banks says his life would be in danger there and that he can't get fair treatment from South Dakota courts.

Correction

An editorial in last week's *Militant* passed on to our readers an error made and later corrected by the *Christian Science Monitor*. The *Monitor* incorrectly reported that one-half of all U.S. foreign aid to sub-Saharan Africa goes to South Africa. The 50 percent figure actually applies to U.S. direct foreign investment, not to foreign aid.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tempe: YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 624-9176.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Gramma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

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Pasadena: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

San Jose: SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

East San Jose: SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

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Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 631-3441.

Muncie: YSA, Box 382 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Sunflower Apts. #23, Lawrence, Kans. 66044.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

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Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Roxbury: SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

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East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

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NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Gary Mele, 947 Strong St., Schenectady, N.Y. 12307. Tel: (518) 346-0352.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Doug Cooper, 105 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 273-7625.

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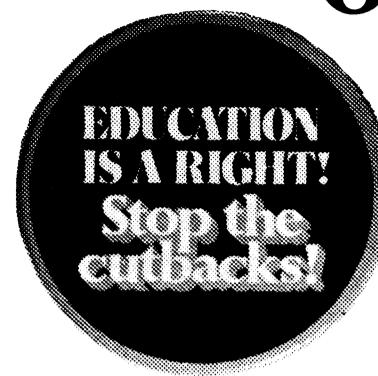
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ROY MEDVEDEV is the author of *Let History Judge* (Macmillan, 1972), a comprehensive history of the Stalin era. This distinguished historian stands out among the intellectual opposition by being an avowed Marxist and a staunch Communist who aspires to revive the program of Lenin in the struggle for a socialist democracy. He seeks to democratize the Soviet Communist Party through initiatives "from above" (by the party and government), supported "from below" (by the masses) through constitutional means. His specific proposals have been set forth in his recent work, *On Socialist Democracy*. His initiating and concluding essays set the framework for the other contributors to this volume.

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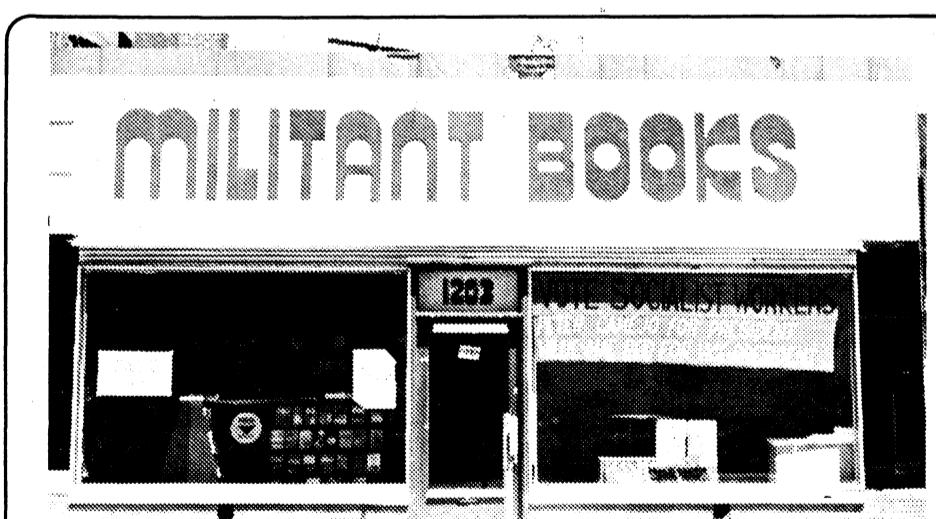
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THE MILITANT

Stop the frame-ups of Indian activists!

Portland

By Judith Menschenfreund

PORTLAND—Four American Indian Movement defendants won an important victory in federal court May 3 when Judge Robert Belloni again turned down government motions to postpone the beginning of the trial set for May 12.

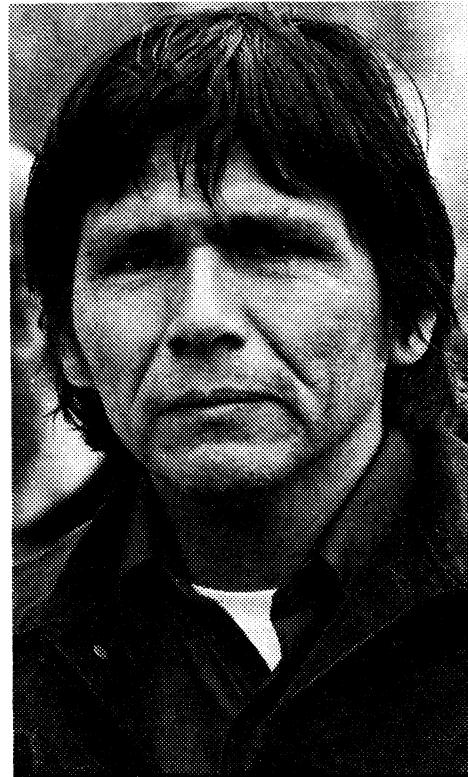
Meanwhile, support has been mounting for the four activists. Meetings and rallies of up to 1,300 people were held during the last part of April to expose the government's frame-up.

The four—Dennis Banks, Kamook Banks, Kenneth Loudhawk, and Russell Redner—face several counts of possession of explosives and firearms.

Dennis Banks, a founder and central leader of the American Indian Movement, faces an additional charge of possession of firearms by a felon.

The government wants the trial delayed because most of its evidence was ruled inadmissible by Judge Belloni.

The government claims it found seven boxes of dynamite in a vehicle in which some of the AIM members were traveling. No such dynamite now exists. The government says it immediately and secretly destroyed it because there was no safe place to store it. However, they didn't bother to notify



Militant/Howard Petrick
DENNIS BANKS: AIM leader faces firearms trial beginning May 12.

the defendants, the press, or even an impartial witness who could verify the dynamite existed.

The judge found out there were
Continued on page 26

Seattle

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—More than 300 people rallied here April 22 in the Central Area's Langston Hughes Center in support of imprisoned American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier. The rally was sponsored by the Red Nation Legal Defense.

Peltier, an Oglala Sioux and veteran of the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation and other struggles, is being held in solitary confinement on death row in a prison near Vancouver, British Columbia.

Although he is accused of no crime in Canada, authorities there have him locked up without bail pending resolution of an extradition request by the United States government.

The United States has charged Peltier with two counts of murder in the June 26, 1975, shooting deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Three other Indians—Jimmy Eagle, Robert Robideau, and Dino Butler—have also been charged with the deaths of the FBI men.

No one has been charged for the death of Joseph Stuntz, an Indian man killed by government forces during the June 26 incident.

From behind bars Peltier has writ-

ten, "The only thing I'm guilty of is trying to help my people. . . . Now, because I fought so hard to get some justice for native people, I'm being charged with murders."

Peltier is demanding that he be allowed to stay in Canada as a political exile, since charges against him are clearly a politically motivated frame-up.

Speakers at the defense rally included John Trudell, AIM national director; Russell Redner, who is a codefendant with Dennis Banks and others on trumped-up firearms charges in Oregon; Ellen Moves Camp, AIM activist; and Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian woman facing murder charges for shooting a white man in self-defense.

Moves Camp, a resident of Pine Ridge, said Peltier would be as good as dead if returned to South Dakota. She cited the case of Anna Mae Aquash, who disappeared shortly after she was extradited to South Dakota last November. She was found in February on the Pine Ridge reservation with a bullet hole in the back of her head.

On the afternoon before the rally, a similar event drew 150 people at the University of Washington. The evening after the rally, April 23, 115 people attended a Militant Forum cosponsored by Red Nation Legal Defense to hear Moves Camp discuss the Peltier case.

Set march to save Hostos college

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—A mass demonstration to stop the closing of Hostos Community College was called for May 10 by a broad array of prominent student and Puerto Rican leaders and organizations.

Hostos, the only bilingual college in the Eastern United States, is scheduled to be phased out no later than September 1, and may well not reopen its doors after the spring term ends May 28.

Among the groups sponsoring the May 10 march is the Committee for the Democratic Rights of Puerto Ricans, formed at a meeting of 150 prominent Puerto Rican leaders and activists April 27.

The committee was formed to oppose "the vicious, irresponsible, racist" cutbacks decreed by New York City officials, according to a news release issued by the group.

Among those elected to the group's steering committee are: U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo; Alfonso Román, executive director of the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey; and Dr. Evelina Antonetti, director of United Bronx Parents.

Also, Bronx Criminal Court Judge John Carro; Lydia Hernández, education director of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund; José Velázquez, New York Zone secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers



May 1 march hits closing of Hostos college, the only bilingual college in Eastern United States

Militant/José Pérez

party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Eighteenth District; and Alexis Colón, president of Hostos Student Government and a leader of the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (FUSP—Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students.)

Many other groups have joined with the Committee for the Democratic Rights of Puerto Ricans in helping to organize the march. The University Student Senate, representing student governments at the City University of New York's twenty campuses, including Hostos, endorsed the effort at its April 25 meeting.

A student organizing committee for May 10 has been set up, which includes anticutback activists from the USS, FUSP, Young Workers Liberation League, Young Socialist Alli-

ance, CUNY United for Action, and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

The May 10 march is scheduled to begin at 11:00 a.m. at 116th Street and Lexington Avenue, and will proceed to 55th Street and Sixth Avenue where a rally will be held in front of the offices of the Emergency Financial Control Board.

Hostos Community College is two-thirds Hispanic and 98 percent minorities. The college first opened in 1970 as a byproduct of the successful struggle for open admissions at the City University of New York.

On April 5, the New York City Board of Higher Education voted to close Hostos college. Officials from the BHE claim that a bilingual program will be set up at Bronx Community College and that no students currently enrolled

would be forced out of school.

Alexis Colón, president of the student government at Hostos, says the BHE aims to drastically reduce the number and variety of Spanish-language courses offered, and that many students will be prevented from gaining entrance to other colleges of the CUNY system.

Since word started circulating that Hostos was to be closed, there have been repeated protests and demonstrations by students and the South Bronx community demanding that the school be kept open.

The most recent of these protests was a May 1 march of more than 500 initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist party and backed by the Community Coalition to Save Hostos, the Socialist Workers party, and other groups.